KONKAN :
FROM THE EARLIEST TO 1818 A.D.

(A STUDY IN POLITICAL, AND SOCIO - ECONOMIC ASPECTS)

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The late padmshree ***Shri. Bhausaheb Vartak*** *and the* ***late Shrimati Indutai Vartak*** *for their untiring efforts to promote the cause of Education,*

Social Work, Art and Culture

for development of Konkan through

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FOREWORD

The Itihas Sansodhan Mandal, Mumbai has the scheme for the preparation and publication of the Socio-Political cultural and literary history of Konkan region in ten volumes. The present volume is one of them.

The Political and Social history of Konkan had long been a desideratum. This long left want was fulfilled by a talented and dedicated researcher Dr. V. G. Kobrekar who worked with single minded devotion on this subject. Dr. Khobrekar devoted all his energies to the difficult task, and the product of his efforts now published, adds considerably to our knowledge of life as it was lived in Konkan during the heroic age.

It appears that the term Konkan had different geographical connotations in different periods. The term 'Aparanta' for Konkan is used in ancient Indian literature. The term Konkan came into vogue in the early centuries of the christian era.

Ancient Indian Literature gives information regarding the physical features, the climates, the food habits and the festivals which show that during the last one thousand years not much change has taken place in the region.

The Konkan Coast had a close communication with Western Asia, Greece, Rome and Egypt. Growth of Buddhism coincided and encouraged the development of trade in this area.

Four hundred years ago, the Deccan, the land of the Marathas, was ruled by the Muslim kings. Shivaji, the great gave a clarian call for independence and established for them a new kingdom and a new dynasty by enthroning himself at Raigad on 6 June 1674.

It is explained in this book how Shivaji the great paid full attention to the development of the Navy and accquisitioning

the sovereignty at sea. It is a very painful to read how Konkan came under the British rule in 1818 A.D.

In the II part of the Book the writer has given exhaustive treatment to the social organisations which include religion, caste system and village communities. Dr. Khobrekar also has brought out history of political institutions such as judicial system, role of Panchayats, status of the depressed classes including women.

I am very happy to note that his incessant study is now giving out the matured fruits of his talent and scholarship in the form of this book.

I am confident it would receive due appreciation from scholars and students of history.

Jyotirbhaskar Jayantrao Salgaonkar
Chairman,
Itihas Sanshodhan Mandal

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PREFACE

The comprehensive history of Konkan from the earliest to 1818 is a desideratum. No attempt at writing on authentic and comprehensive history of Konkan region comprising Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts of this period (*from earliest to 1818*) has been made so far. A century ago Rev. A.K. Nairne had written for the Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency history of the Konkan from the earliest to 1884. Fleet, R.G. Bhandarkar, A.S. Altekar and M.M. Mirashi made substantial contributions to the Konkan history. However, as the study of these Veterans was confined mainly to ancient period, medieval and modern period remained to be investigated. A vast mass of source material on this topic has come to light during the last century. With the help of this unused material, the present writer has made an attempt to reconstruct the political history of Konkan together with social and economic aspects. The task is enormous and almost exhausting but is of great interest at the sametime. This is an attempt to give a detailed analysis of the important events closely connected with maritime activities of the European nations on the west coast of India and their impact on the native life.

The political history is divided into nine chapters. The opening chapter " Early History of Konkan with its definition is given by explaining various interpretations of Ideologists and Historians.

The early history of Konkan begins with the arrival of early settlers in Konkan through the opening of Sahyadris by Bor, Devsthali, Kumbha and Savtya passes as well as by sea route through the ports situated on the coast of Thana & Kolaba. It is also proved by evidence that from the reign of Ashoka Buddhism spread extensively in Konkan. The Budhist rock Monuments at Kanheri, Karle, Cheul, Patkil near Mahad and Kuda near Rajapuri give a connceted history of Budhism in Konkan. From the Epigraphic records the rule of Satvahana dynasty in Konkan is explained. After the down fall of the Satavahanas a Maurya dynasty ruled in Konkan as late as seventh century A.D. Thereafter the

Vakatakas held sway over Konkan before the rise of the Chalukyas. During the latter half of eighth century has Silaharas rose to power in Konkan and rule of the braches of this family continued up to 13th century.

The second chapter tells us how the Muslims established their rule in the deccan and in the Konkan after removing Ramchandrarao Yadav of Deogiri. The Bahamani kingdom was established in 1347 in the Deccan. Only in the middle of the 15th century Muhmud Gawan could make a serious attempt to conquer Rajas of Konkan. The Bahamani Empire broke up in 1536 and the territory of Konkan went to Nizamshahi of Ahmednagar and Adilshahi of Bijapur. Adilshahi acquired North Konkan under the treaty of 1636 with the Emperor Shahajahan by which the territories of the kingdom of Ahmednagar were distributed between him and the Mughals. The Portuguese has obtained, in the first half of the 16th century itself, Bombay, Bassein, Salsette and Chaul in the North Konkan. Konkan was a bone of contention during the middle of the 17th century among the Mughals, the Bijapur kings, the Marathas, the Portuguese and semi independent Desais of the region.

The third chapter opens with Shahaji's operations in Konkan. It is also full of Shivaji's activities in Konkan. Shivaji ran over the whole of Konkan south Kalyan and became master of it. He taught a lesson to the English factors at Rajapur. He foiled the attempt of Bijapur troops to recover the South Konkan by defeating them. In 1670 Shivaji sent a large fleet up the coast which captured the Portuguese ships. Shivaji celebrated his coronation at Raigad in June 1674, by becoming a king of the sea and Konkan. Lastly how Shivaji repaired old forts and built new forts on the coast by providing work to the Konkanis is elaborated in this chapter.

The fourth chapter begins with the Mughal offensive in Konkan. It also deals with conflict between the Marathas and the Mughals leading to Sambhaji's tragic end. Aurangzeb was in the Deccan to anihilatethe Marathas. The period of eighteen years from 1689 to 1707, was one of utmost trial for the Marathas. Auranazeb ordered his officers to occupy Konkan by driving out the Marathas. Various battles fought by the Marathas against the Mughals in Konkan are described. Finally the Konkan region was included in imperial dominions in 1693. How the Mughal officer Matabakhan established himself at Kalyan and lastly how he reconciled with the Marathas is narrated in this chapter.

The fifth chapter deals with the Portuguese activities against the Marathas from 1658 to 1732. The Portuguese came in conflict with Shivaji. Thereafter Sambhaji opened a war front against the Portuguese. Several places belonging to the Portuguese between Bassein and Daman were attacked and destroyed. But their tyranical behaviour with their Hindu subjects continued unabated. Finally how the Portuguese became helpless before Kanhoji Angre and thereafter before Bajirao-I is explained in this chapter.

The sixth chapter is full of Maratha doings against the Sidi of Janjira. The Marathas succeeded in capturing the places and the forts in the north Konkan which were previously captured by the Sidi. Kanhoji Angre made Kolaba the principal place of arms of the Maratha fleet. Lastly, the Marathas broke the power of the Sidi and became the chief power of the whole Konkan.

In chapter seventh expulsion of the Portuguese and fall of Angre is explained. To wipe out the Portuguese menace in Konkan the Marathas planned an attack on Bassein, Tarapur, Mahim and on all other places belonging to the Portuguese in Konkan. The Marathas captured all the places held by the Portuguese in Konkan by expelling them. The second part of the chapter deals with the rise and fall of the Angre's power in Konkan. Kanhoji Angre became the chief power of the sea. The English at Bombay watched Angre's activities with great anxiety. The Angre had disputes in his family and was in conflict with the Portuguese, the Sidi and the Peshwa. The Peshwa concluded agreement with the English for joint action against the Angre. The English - Peshwa axis destroyed Angre's mighty navy and power.

Chapter eight is concerned with the contest for the hegemony of Konkan between the Marathas and the East India Company. The relations between the Peshwa and the English became less and less cordial. After the Panipat disaster the English started competing with the Marathas for the political leadership of India. In Konkan, the Marathas had operations against Janjira. The British had expeditions against Malwan, Rairee forts. The British army advanced from Gujarat to Konkan. Bassein was surrendered to the British. The British army marched from Konkan up to the Ghats to threaten the Poona Government. The British activities on the western coast to put down the piracy to protect commerce are detailed in their Diaries, which are preserved in the Bombay Archives. They are made use of by the author.

Chapter nine deals with the activities of the English leading to the conquest of Konkan by them. Yeshwantrao Holkar's arrival in Poona created terror in the heart of Peshwa Bajirao II who fled to Mahad in Konkan and then to Bassein and concluded the subsidiary treaty with the English by which the Peshwa bartered away the Maratha independence. British got possession of all the Kolhapur territory in Konkan. Sawantwadi accepted the govereignty of the English. In 1817, the Peshwa surrendered the territory of the North Konkan to the British. Konkan came under the British rule.

Along with political study I have explained in Part-II a Socio-Economic Aspects of Konkan.

Social life in Konkan under the Marathas centred round the village communities. The administrative machinery which the village communities evolved comprised the Patil or Mukadam Kulkarni, the Cahugula and the Mahar. Disputes in the villages were settled by an assembly of the entire Gota or Pandhar of the village. The most important function of the Gota or village council was that of administering justice. Composition of village Gota and system of dispensing justice is explained. How village communities had freedom in the matters of general administration of the village is shown by quoting examples. Physical description of major castes is given and their traditions regarding religious matters are explained with the help of documents found in the Peshwa Daftar Deccan Commissioner's files Rumals Nos. 139, 149 to 155.

The tenth chapter deals with the Village Community. Social life in Konkan under the Marathas centred round the Village communities. The administrative machinery which the Village communities evolved comprised the Patil or Mukadam, Kulkarni, the Cahugula and the Mahar. Disputes in the villages were settled by an assembly of the entire Gota or Village Council was that of administrating justice. Composition of village. Gota and system of dispensing justice is explained. How village communities had freedom in the matters of general administration of the village is shown by quoting examples.

The eleventh chapter tells us how the Village Community had to be self-relient in the matters of defence and rural administration. The village naturally became the centre of economic activities. The kinds of lands in the Villages are explained: The terms Wadi, Padi, Kheri Majara, Mira, Peth are

also explained. The functions of Deshaks, Deshpande, Patil, Kulkarni, Shete, Mahajan are stated. Other than the above officers there were Balutedars and Mirasdars in the Village. There were mainly three kinds of land tenures by which all Village land was held i.e. Mirasi, Upari and Vatan tenures. It is also explained how the residents of the Village were a Community of farmers, traders, artisans and administrative officers. Finally a structure and functions of Grampanchayat are given.

The twelveth chapter deals with social structure based on caste in the village. The whole set of people in the village of Konkan has been divided in hundreds of smaller groups jat in Indian languages and Caste's by Western Anthropologist. All these groups with their works in village are explained in detail.

The thirteenth chapter gives us a functions of joint family marriage and position of woman in the society.

The fourteenth chapter religious and social customs of (1) Brahmins (2) Non-Brahmins (3) Tribes (4) Muslims (5) Christains in the village are explained with examples.

In chapter fifteenth it is said that Konkan has as now a mixed population Hindus, Muslims and Christains. The details about the people, their dwellings, dress, food, education, festivals, entertainment are investigated. Lastly religious and social customs of the artisans and various tribes are explained in detail.

The chapter sixteenth is relating to agriculture, revenue administration and land tenures in Konkan. The Peshwa Government gave protection to agriculture against famine, food, draught and movement of army. Whenever, the peasants suffered due to natural and military factors, the Peshwa Government upon the request of the concerned villages, gave remission in the revenue. It also gave inam and financial assistance for the construction of wells, dams and canals. The Government also established Peths according to wishes of the people. Kothi, Dharkaris and Upris were the three classes of village. Definition of these tenures are explained with reference to revenue records.

The formation of the Peths and the appointment of the officials like Shete, Mahajan and Kotwal has been included in the seventeenth chapter namely "Agricultural Trade and Commerce". The rights and duties of the officials of the Peth have also been indicated in the chapter.

In the chapter eighteenth internal trade of Konkan is explained. Coconuts, Tooty, Mango, Jack and Rice are the main

items that came to the market for sale. In Konkan, ship building industry was making spectacular progress and merchants-capitalists were not slow in extending their economic activities. During the Peshwa's time the industries and trade which were in vogue since the days of Shivaji were conducted without interruption. The self-sufficient villages had various minor industries and trade in the village itself. Articles made by village artisans such as shoes, blankets, cloths and articles of wood were sold in the Kasba Market.

The last chapter (Nineteenth) highlights upon the salt industry, ship building , dry fish, mangoes, cashunuts, teaktimber, coconuts and kathya ropes. Dabhol, Kalyan, Rajapur, Chaul were principal trade centres. Dabhol merchants were trading in the South East–Asia. Merchants in Konkan like elsewhere were drawn from different religious ethnic groups. Throughout the 17th century Kalyan, Bhivandi & Chaul were the towns with industries and crafts and also centres of production of manufactured articles. Thus the important centres of trade and commerce in Konkan are explained.

I express my deep sense of gratitude of Jyotirbhaskar Jayantrao Salgaonkar, Chairman of the Itihas Sanshodhan Mandal whose encouragement contributed a great deal to the completion of this work. I am also thankful to Prof. Vasantrao Dautar, Dr. Dattatray Punde, for getting this work printed.

Thanks are due to Prof. V.B. Kashelkar. Shri. J.B. Kulkarni, Shri. Sharadrao Chitnis, Shri. Gurukant Desai, my grand daughter Miss. Yogini Vinayak Agre for helping me by going through the press copy and correcting the proofs.

It is my happy duty to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Itihas Sanshodhan Mandal, Mumbai – 14 for publication of this book.

My sincere thanks are due to the publisher for undertaking the publication of this work.

Mumbai
V. G. KHOBREKAR

CHAPTER - I

EARLY HISTORY OF KONKAN

(From *Pre-historic times to the advent of Muslim Rule)*

The Land of Konkan : It's features and divisions:

The Konkan proper or Bombay Konkan as it is known today, comprising the Western Coastal Strip of Maharashtra, stretches to a distance of about 360 miles from the latitude of Daman in the North to that of Terekhol, on the Goa frontier, in the South. Presently it is divided into four districts: Thane, Raigad, Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg.

The districts of Thane and Raigad formed the stretch, popularly known as North Konkan. It is separated from South Konkan by the Bankot Creek. The districts of Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg make what we call " The Sapta Konkan ". This whole strip of Konkan lies between 72.8 and 73.8 east longitude.

Konkan is sandwiched between the Arabian Sea on the West and the steep mountain wall of the Western Ghats on the East. It combines a climate of the hills and the seashore with extreme humidity and heavy rains. In North Konkan the rivers Vaitarna, Surya and the Ulhas flow draining northwards to meet the Bassein Creek- The land of North Konkan becomes more hilly along the coast-strip but more open in the central interior which is drained by the four important tributaries of the Savitri. These rivers are short and run transversely.

There are rivulets and streams, which rise before they drain themselves into the Arabian Sea. They are in flood as long as the rain lasts and dry out soon after the monsoon is over. The soil is far from fertile and is only fit for paddy cultivation, in flat patches and for Rugi, Varai and similar millets on the hillside. The mountain sides are covered with evergreen vegetation which gives Konkan a scenic beauty and endows it with its rich agricultural wealth. The Western ghats along their entire length are pierced by numberless passes more or less difficult to cross. These passes shorten the journey from any part of the Konkan to a place from the high lands across the mountain barrier.

Aryan Settlement :

The first Aryan settlement in the Deccan according to R.G.

Bhandarkar[1] was set up in 700 B.C. and this is also the time when they penetrated into the Konkan.

The Ghats :

The important feature of the Konkan is the passes that connect it with Desh areas. There are many gaps in the Sahyadri wall called the Ghats from Goa to Daman region. They are par, Malsej, Dive, Ramghat, Kumbharli, Nane, Thal, Bor and Balaghat etc. The North Konkan rivers are Tansa, Vaitarna and Ulhas in the Thane district close to the mouths; these rivers have developed longitudinal course running parallel to the coast. The Central and Southern Konkan rivers are the Patalganga, the Amba, the Kundalini, the Savitri, the Vashishti, the Shastri, the Kajvi, the Vaghotan, the Karli, the Tarekhol and the Zuari.

Physical features of the Konkan :

The North Konkan- The present Thane district more or less constitutes the North Konkan area. The Ulhas river and its tributaries in the South and the hilly Vaitarana bassein in the North make up a semi-circular bassein formation. The scarpland of the Sahyadri is to the East of the Coast and Matheran an off shoot of the Sahyadri is to the South-West.

About two-fifths of the land in the North Konkan is covered by forests. Most of the land is barren and fallow. The arable area would be hardly one third of the whole region. The forests of Jawahar, Bassein, Dahanu, Khardi, Kasara and Asangaon cover this region. The interior parts of these areas are populated by the tribal people like Warlies, Thakurs and Kathkaris- The Bhatsai Valley covered by Shahapur Taluka is apparently populated by these tribal people. Teak of the local variety is the most valuable timber of the forest. The main forest products are "Mhowa" flowers and fruits of different kinds like mangoes and palm 'tadgolas'. The other forest products from the ancient times to this day are Khair for Katch (*catechu*). Bamboos, Hirda for tanning and medicinal purpose and honey.[2]

Around Bombay Island there are many islands and submerged ridges, rocky headlands and bays. The geologists hold the view that raised beaches on the Northern and Western side of Bombay suggest internal movements. There are three remnants submerged Khair forests on the Thane Creek.

The Central Konkan- This region has extensive lowlands. Its coast is broken and breached by many creeks especially the Janjira and Bankot creeks. The coastal features suggest that some part of the land was submerged under water. The important rivers are the

Patalganga, the Amba, the Kundalika, and the Savitri. The forests, marshy lands, fallow lands and pastures reduce the available land for cultivation to a mere one third.

The Southern Konkan - The modern districts of Ratnagiri, Sindhudurg and the state of Goa cover this region. In this part of the Konkan there is heavy rainfall. A hard literate cap forms an extensive barren plateau. The hills along the coastline are made of literate rocks-presents a strange features of hard rock formation which run into the sea.

The lower hill terrain's and valley bottom provide the arable land where interior kind of rice is grown. The sandy lands along the coast are suitable for aeronaut and coconut cultivation. Further the area is full of saline and marshy land called Khar and Khajan lands. The coarse land and the literate rocks known as the 'Varkas' lands are not favourable for agriculture produce; only the fruits can be grown in this narrow strip of land. The Goa region is comparatively more favourable than the other Northern parts, for fruit cultivation.

The main rivers of the Southern Konkan are the Vasishthi, the Shastri, the Kalavli, the Vaghothan, the Karli, the Terekhol and the Rajapur.

Ancient period :

The Konkan is mentioned, as Aparanta in the 5th Girnar inscription of Ashoka. To this land of Parshuram various interpretations are given. The term " Seven Konkan " of Hindu Mythology, according to Wilson, includes the entire West Coast of India. It is also mentioned in the Hindu History of Kashmir.[3] Grant Duff, the historian of the Marathas, considered the Konkan as the strip of land expanding to stretch along the West Coast from the river Tapi to Sadashivgad (*Karwar*) and inland as far as the open plains of the Deccan.

The early settlers of Konkan came through the opening of the Sahyadris namely Bor, Davasthali, Kumbha and Savtya passes as well as by sea route through the ports situated on the coast of Thana and Kolaba.

The Buddhist monks during the period of Ashoka penetrated into this area and their remarkable cave temples located in Cheul, Pal and Kol near Mahad as well as Kuda about two miles away from creek bear an eloquent testimony to their influence on Konkan.

The earliest mention of the country now called Konkan is in the geography of Ptolemy, about A.D. 150 and in the Greek work called " The Periplus of the Erythraon Sea ", the authorship of which

is uncertain and the date variously calculated from A.D. 66 to A.D. 240.[4] Ptolemy divides Konkan into two provinces Larika (Latdes) which is identified with Gujarat and part of the North Konkan and Ariaka, which includes the rest of the Konkan incorporating the Ratnagiri district.[5] Ariaka territory ranged from Goa to Tapi and was subject to Tagara.[6]

From pre-historic times the Konkan coast had relations with lands beyond the Indian Ocean. From B.C. 2500 to B.C. 500 there were signs of trade with Egypt, Phonetic and Babylon.

Some of the ports on the Konkan coast-Sopara, Thane or Sanjan, Kalyan, Cheul Mahad, Rajpuri, Deogad, Malvan, Vengurla were probably centres of trade from the earliest times (*B.C. 225*). It seems that they had taken a leading part in the foreign commerce of Western India.

From the first century A.D. Buddhist caves have been located in Cheul, Pal and Kol near Rajapuri. Besides these historical places, Ghodegaun was known as the centre of trade. The earliest reference to this Cheul is found in two Kanheri Cave inscriptions of the beginning of the second century A.D.[7]

The Chiplun and Kol caves show that about the beginning of the Christian era (*B.C. 200 to A.D. 50*) North Ratnagiri had Buddhist settlements of some importance. The Buddhists had chosen Salsette for one of their greatest monastic settlements and it is natural that in the other parts of the Konkan, their cave temples are remarkable.[8] In the Ratnagiri District there are caves at Chiplun, Khed, Dabhol, Sangmeshwar, Gavhani-Velgaum and Vade Padel. To judge from evidence it may be said Buddhism was fairly popular in Western India from 250 BC[9]. It may be noted that the caves are the earliest centres that Buddhism found its way into the hearts of Aparantha in Konkan.[10] Chiplun and Kol and Dabhol caves indicate that some of them were donated by or Carcan-men.[11]

Among the twenty-eight Kuda cave inscriptions found so far, five record gifts by connections of Khandpalit, the Mahabhoj,[12] the chief of Mandava, who probably belonged to a local dynasty with its capital at Mandad about a mile of Kuda. Similarly an inscription in the Pal caves contains a reference to a chief of a Kumbhoj dynasty who was ruling somewhere in Kolaba at about the same time.[13]

The Nandas hold sway over this part of the Deccan. The conquest of this territory was probably effected in the days of Bimbisara and Ajatashatru and was maintained by their successor. When however, the Nanda dynasty was overthrown by Mauryas, this country passed into the hands of the Mauryas.[14]

From the inscription of Ashoka, we learn that his empire extended far into the South and certainly included Maharashtra and Aparanta (*Konkan*).[15] By B.C. 246, when Ashoka determined to spread Buddhism all over India, Yona (*i.e. Bactrian*) Dharmarakshita, Thara was sent to Aparanta (*Konkan*) and Mahadharma was likewise sent to Maharashtra. According to Buddhist writings, Sopara in Thane District near Vasai was a royal seat and great centre of Commerce during the Life time of Gautam Buddha (B.C. 540).[16]

As province after province fell out of the empire of Ashoka and formed itself into a separate kingdom under some chief, a branch of the Satiyaputras who are mentioned in the Edicts of Ashoka took advantage of this opportunity and founded a kingdom what was known as Maharashtra.[17] In the light of the information supplied by the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharevela and that at Nane Ghat, we get 222 B.C. as the approximate year in which Simuka founded the dynasty of the Satavahanas.[18] The independent state of Satipura was situated along the Western Ghats and the Konkan coast below.[19]

Paleography of the Naneghat speaks that Simuka was a founder of Satavahanas. After Simuka, Krishna by name came to occupy the throne. He ruled for 18 years. Thereafter, Satkarni-I, Simukas son became the King of Konkan. He was King of Northern Konkan.

The Puranas seem to suggest that Simuka, the founder of the Satavahanas, ruled about the third quarter of the first century B.C.[20]

According to the records in Kanheri, he wrested back the Northern Konkan from the Sakas.

Epigraphic records show that Satakarni held Suzerainty over wide regions of the upper Deccan, including probably a portion of Central and Western India. It appears that Northern Konkan and Kathiawar were within the sphere of Satvahana influence during the reign of Satakarni-I and probably of his immediate successors. The sovereignty of the Satvahanas continued for over 300 years with one serious interruption from the Satrapas. Mahaksatrapa Nahapana, about 100 A.D. invaded the Deccan, occupied Junnar and Nasik, and apparently seized the Western coastline. His rule however was short lived. Gautami Satkarni of the Satavahanas drove him out of the Deccan in 125 A.D. A Nasik cave inscription records that in the nineteenth year of the reign of king Pulumavi, the cave was constructed and dedicated to the use of Buddhist saints and mendicants by Gautami, the mother of Gautamiputra Satkarni. This Gautamiputra is described as " King of kings and ruler of Asika, Saurashtra, Kukura,

Anupa Vidarbha and Akaravanti[21] were destroyed by Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas, Gautamiputra Satkarni re-established the glory of the Satvahans. They were the scything, the " Yavanas " were Indo-Greeks and the Pahlavas the Parthians.[22]

Gautamiputra died after a reign of about 24 years in 110 A.D. He was the greatest ruler among they Sathavahanas and had the reputation of being a just and efficient ruler.

Gautamiputra was succeeded by Vasisthiputra Pulumavi in C 110 A.D. He ruled the country till 138 A.D. Political events in the reign of Puloma I is shrouded in mystery. Towards the end of his reign, Pulumavi defeated Jayadaman and reduced him to the status of a mere Ksatrapa.[23] He was a worthy successor of his father. He continued the policy of toleration handed down to him by his ancestors. According to the Puranas, Vasisthiputra Pulumavi was succeeded by Sivastri Satkarni who ruled the country for seven years.[24] Vasisthiputra Sivasri Satkarni was the Son-in-law of the Saka king Rudradaman who ascended the throne in C 140 A.D. Numismatic and epigraphical evidence shows that he held Konkan. He ruled his empire for about 29 years. His successor Gautamiputra Yajna Shri Satkarni is known to have wrested some of the lost provinces from the Sakas. There was an internecine war in the dynasty from C 181 to 196 A.D.

Yajnashri Satkarni was an able and ambitious prince. He wrested back Northern Konkan from the Sakas according to records in Kanheri. The reconquest of Northern Konkan took place by C 190 A.D. This king continued to rule over the territory from Konkan to Andhra Pradesh. His inscriptions have been found at Kanheri in Konkan.

How the mighty Satavahana Empire was dissolved in less than thirty years after the death of Yajnashri Satkarni is not clearly known.[25] After Satvahans, Konkan was ruled by the Abhiras.

The Nasik cave inscription states that the kingdom of Abhira king Isvarasena comprised of Gujrat, Konkan and Western Maharashtra.[26]

According to the Puranas, ten Abhira kings ruled Konkan for seventy years. They were ruling in the vicinity of Nasik as such, they had close connection with Konkan. This is evident from the two grants discovered in the Kanheri caves.[27] The Abhiras rule ended at the end of third century which gave rise to the power of Traikutakas. They established their sway over Konkan and Gujrat coast.[28]

Indra Dutta was the founder of Traikutta kingdom. He drove out Abhiras from the Konkan and made Aniruddhapuri as capital of his kingdom and started ruling Konkan. His son, Maharaja Daharason, expanded his empire to Gujrat. His empire comprised Southern Gujrat, Konkan and Maharashtra. He may have reigned from circa A.D. 440 to A.D. 456. His son Vyagrasen ruled Konkan from A.D. 465 to A.D. 492. The inscriptions of the Traikutas was found inscribed on copper plates deposited inside a Budhist Stupa at Kanheri near Bombay.[30] It is dated in the year A.D. 494-95 and refers in general terms to the victorious reign of the Traikutakas. The king ruling at this time must have been the successor of Vyagrasena. About this time the Traikutaka kingdom was invaded by the mighty Vakataka king Harisena for extracting tribute.[31] About fifty years thereafter the country was over run by the Kalchuri king Krishnaraja or his father. He seems to have brought Northern Maharashtra and Konkan under his rule by the middle of the sixth century A.D.[32] Kalachuri king Krishnaraja's father overthrew the Traikutakas, whose territory he distributed to his feudatories. Mauryas were placed in charge of Aparanta or North Konkan. The Maurayas were subdued by the Chalukyas of Badami in the 6th Century. The Chalukya king Mangalesh (*A.D. 597-98*) claims to have put to flight Buddharaja, the son of Kalachuri Sankaragana.[33]

According to the Nerur grant and Mahakuta pillar inscription, the Kalachuri king Buddha, son of Sankaragana, was defeated before the 12th April, A.D. 602 and his entire kingdom was appropriated when the Chalukya king was desirous of conquering the Northern region.[34] The Nerur grant of Mangalesh also refers to the killing of the Chalukya chief Swamiraja who was apparently ruling in Konkan and was said to have been famous for his victories in Eighteen Battles. Most probably this Swamiraja was placed in the Konkan by Kirtivaraman-I as his viceroy; and he sided with Pulakesin-II in his struggle against Mangalesa.[35]

It is likely that Swamiraja had his head quarters at Revatidvipa Goa in the waters of the Western or Arabian sea.[36] According to a Goa grant, Indravarman was placed as vicerey in the Konkan by Kirtivarman I about A.D. 590, the first year of the former's rule. About the end of Mangalesa's region there was a civil war between him and his nephew, Pulakesin-II son of Kirtivarman. The cause of the quarrel was that Mangalesa wanted to secure the succession for his own sons.[37]

About the middle of the sixth century, kings of the Maurya dynasty were ruling over North Konkan for Konkan. Though the Mauryas were ruling North Konkan for about seventy-five years, the history has little knowledge of their achievements.[38]

The only record of their reign is that which was discovered at Vada in Thane District. It belongs to the reign of the Maurya king Suketuvarman and it records the installation of the God Kotisvara by one Simhadatta, the son of Kumaradatta.[39]

Soon after his accession, Pulkeshi-II turned his attention to the conquest of the North Konkan. He sent a large army and a fleet of hundreds of large ships to attack the Maurya capital Puri, which was famous as " The goddess of fortune" of, the Western ocean.[40]

The Aihole inscription gives a graphic description of the hard faught battle. The Maurya king was defeated and his kingdom was annexed to the Chalukya Empire.[41] Kirtivarman's grandson Pulkeshi (*A.D. 610-640*) conquered this territory. A stone inscription from-Vada, in the north of Thane district shows that a Mauryan king by name Suketuvarman, was then ruling the Konkan.[42]

Hiuan Tsang, who visited Pulkeshin-II in A.D. 641, has given a vivid account of the people in this part. The Chalukyas were defeated by Pallava monarch Narasimhavarman who captured Badami, causing disorganisation in the administrative machinary of the Chalukyas.[43] But the Chalukya supremacy was eventually re-established by Vikramaditya-I, the third son of Pulakeshin II. The Nerur and Kochrem grants show that Chadraditya, the eldest son of Pulakeshin-II was governing the western parts of the Chalukya dominions which included Ratnagiri District and Sawantwadi.[44]

Puri, which continued to be the capital of North Konkan, is not satisfactorily identified. Dr. Harihar Thosar and others identify it with Gharapuri, better known as Elephanta with its magnificent cave temples.[45] This place is surrounded by water. Island is too small to be the capital of the State. Another view is that Puri is identical with Rajapuri, also known as Danda Rajapuri near Murud in the former Janjira state. It is situated at the mouths of a long creek and has well-fortified fort nearby. It is surrounded by the sea on three sides and is connected with the mainland on the fourth. The latter view seems to be probable.[46]

Before Chalukya rule over Konkan, about the middle of the sixth century, kings of Maurya and Nala dynasties appear to have been ruling in Konkan. A stone inscription from Vada in the North of Thane district shows that a Mauryan king by name Suketuvarma was then ruling in the Konkan.[47]

The Jains make frequent mention of the part of Ratnagiri. This part was a great seat of their activities right from Rishabhadev, the first Tirthankar. There are traces of time when Jainism was the ruling form of faith. Most of the temple grants seem to date from a time when Jainism was the state religion in the Ratnagiri district.[48]

The Chalukyas of Badami :

The Chalukyas of Badami who are famous for evolving a distinctive style of temple architecture, ruled over Konkan for a period of nearly two hundred years. The Chalukya king Kirtivarman-I bigan ruling over Konkan in the year 754 A.D. Kirtivarman-II, the last ruler, lost control over Konkan after A.D. 757.[49]

Pulkesi, son of Kirtivarman attacked capital Puri " the Goddess of the fortunes of the Western Ocean " and captured it. He also brought under subjugation some of the kings of Konkan. They followed the vedic religion of sacrifice and the popular puranic worship in preference to the tenets of the decling Buddhism. It is evident that Bombay and the neighbouring country were under control of the Chalukya governor of Nasik. The Chalukyas continued to be in possession of the Western coast until about 757 A.D. when their supremacy of Konkan was shattered by the Rashtrakutas.[50]

The Rashtrakuta emperor Govind-III conferred on Kapardin-I, the founder of the Silaharas, the kingdom of North Konkan in recognition of his valour and assistance. One of their branches ruled in South Konkan from 782 to 1008 after the fall of the Rashtrakutas. The Silaharas of the Northern branch remained supreme for over four centuries (*C 800-1240 A.D.*) as rulers of modern Thane District together with Bombay and parts of modern Raigad District.[51]

Kapardin, the first Rashtrakuta ruler had a son, by name Pullasakti who was the governor of Mangalpuri in Konkan. His successor Kapardin-II also was a vassal of the Rashtrakutas. Masndi, the Arale historian mentions Jhanjiha, the 5th king, as ruling over Saimur (*Chaul*) in 916 A.D. He built twelve Shiva temples and was a devout Saiva.[52]

The Silaharas hailed from the Kanarese country, The first two families which were ruling over the North Konkan and Satara-Kolhapur region hailed from the city of Tagara, at present called Ter in the Osmanabad district. They were Kanarese speaking.[53]

The third family was ruling over South Konkan which was traditionally supposed to have comprised 900 villages. It was also known as Sapta Konkan,[54] and comprised the modern territory of Goa together with the former Sawantwadi State and the Ratnagiri district.

The Silaharas of both North and South Konkan rose to power as feudatories of the Rashtrakutas. Before their rise, Konkan was ruled by the feudatories of the Chalukyas of Badami. From the Aihol inscription we learn that Pulakesin-II conquered North Konkan from the Mauryas who were probably feudatories of the early Kalchris.[55]

Thereafter Vikramaditya-I, the son and successor of Pulakesin-II, placed his younger brother Jayasimha Dharasraya in charge of the North Konkan, Gujrat and Nasik District.[56]

Younger son of Vikramaditya-I was ruling over parts of North Konkan is shown by his Kacch plates which were issued from Sripura, probably identical with Sirgao on the Seashore, about 14 miles West of Manor in the Palghar Taluka of the Thane District. These plates are dated in saka 653 (*A.D. 731*)

Some portion of North Konkan was under the rule of the Harischandra, king Swami Chandra, who is said to have been treated by Vikramaditya I as his own son and placed in charge of Puri-Konkan. The Anjaneri plates of his grandson Bhogsakti recording assignment of some taxes levied on the people of a district in the North Konkan, are dated to the Kalachuri year 461 (*A.D. 110*).[57]

Thereafter, the North Konkan was conquered by Dantidurga the founder of Rashtrakuta imperial power. It was under the direct rule of the Rashtrakutas until Govind-III placed it under charge of Kapardin-I, the founder of the North Konkan branch of the Silaharas.[58]

South Konkan was conquered by the Chalukyas of Badami in the reign of Mangalesa. He was ruling from Revatidvipa, modern Redi, 8 miles, South of Vengurla in the Sindhudurga District. It was added to the Rashtrakuta Empire in the reign of Dantidurga's uncle and successor Krishna-I.

It was placed under the charge of Satyasraya Dhruvaraje Indravarman of the Bapputra family. The Goa plates tell us that he was stationed in Revatidvipa in A.D. 610 and was governing four provinces.[59]

We have seen above that the Rashtrakuta king Dantidurga conquered the North Konkan. The South Konkan was added to the Rashtrakuta empire in the reign of Dantidurga's uncle and successor Krishna.[60]

He placed Sanaphulla, the founder of the Southern Silaharas incharge of the territory. He had the favour of Krisnaraja,[61] the Rashtrakuta king. Sonaphulla acquired the territory between the Sahyadri mountain and the seashore.[62] His son and successor Dhaminiyara is said to have founded Balipattana on the sea coast.

This place may be identical with Kharepatan in the Sindhudurg District.[63]

The Southern Silaharas were loyal feudatories of the Rashtrakutas. The oldest of the Silahara Houses- and there were three rulers over Western India- was ruling over this part in South Konkan from C. 770 to C. 1020 A.D.[64] With one or two exceptions, the rulers of these families never aspired for the Imperial crown and they were all along feudatories in status professing allegiance first to the Rashtrakutas and then to the Chalukyas, the Kadambas and the Yadavas.[65] Rataraja was last of the kings compelled to recognise the Chalukya Sovereignity- While Aparajita of the Thane Silaharas had assumed independent power,[66] Rattarja may have declared independence soon after the death of Satyashraya, who was succeed by Vikramaditya's younger brother Jaya Sinha at was war with the Cholas of the South. He gave a crushing defeat to the Cholas and while returning from the South, defeated Rattaraja and annexed his kingdom. Thus ended the career of the Silahara House of the South, some 250 years, after its foundation. The district of Ratnagiri was under the Silaharas and the capital of their kingdom was probably Goa and later it may have been transferred to a more central place in the vincinity of Ratnagiri or Kharepathan.[68]

Certain parts of the Ratnagiri district were included in the kingdom of the Northern Silaharas which came under this house sometime after the extinction of the Silaharas of Southern Konkan.[69]

The founder of the Northern House, Kapardin-I was a contemporary of the Rashtrakuta Emperor Govind-III (A.D. 793-813) He seems to have given active help to that Emperor in his numerous wars and was rewarded by the grant of the feudatory rulership over Northern Konkan. The capital was at Thane.[70] The Silaharas of Thane rose to eminence at about 800 A.D. and ruled for a period of four centuries.

All along, Silaharas were feudataries in status. They owned their allegiance first to the Rashtrakutas, then to Chalukyas as well as to the Yadavas of Devgiri. Rulers of these houses claim to have descended from Jimutavahana. Jimutavahana according to the traditional story, offered himself as ahara or food for Garuda on the sila fixed for saving the life of the serpent Sankhacuda.[71]

History of the Silaharas of Thane is known through one record, namely the Kharepatan plates of Rattaraja[72] issued in 1008 A.D. Rattaraja was the last ruler of this dynasty. The date of the founder can be inferred from the fact that he was feudatory of the Rashtrakuta

Emperor Krishna-I (*758 to 773 A.D.*) By 765 A.D. Krishna I had established his power over Konkan and it was probably handed over to Sanaphulla, the founder of this dynasty. Rattarja, the last ruler, ruled this territory from 995 to 1020 A.D. Thereafter, the rule of Konkan passed over to the later Chalukyas.[73]

The third Silahara House rose to prominence at the beginning of the 11th century. They were called Silaharas of Kolhapur. They held over sway portion of the Southern Konkan for sometime.[74]

Gonka of the Silahara House is described as the conqueror of the Konkan. But Jayasimha, a Silahara king had already conquered South Konkan. Hence it seems natural that he may have for the convenience of administration, allowed Gonka to rule over such portion of the South Konkan which he could manage to hold against Kadambas of Goa; Silahara king Bhoja-I was repulsed by Achugi-II, trusted feudatory of Vikramaditya-VI, the Chalukyan emperor.[75]

Goa Kadamba king Jayakesi-II styled himself declaring independence of the Western Chalukya's over lordship, the " Konkan Chakravarti " or the Emperor of the Konkan. (*Pascima Samudradhipati*) However, Achugi-II, the feudatory of Vikramaditya-VI " seized upon Konkan " very soon, the differences were made up and Vikramaditya-VI even gave his daughter in marriage to Jayakesi-II. Jayakesi made use of this valuable influence and secured for himself the paramount place among the chiefs of Deccan. By 1125-26, he was lord of the province of Konkan, from Goa to Thane including Ratnagiri District, which formed apart of his vast empire.[76] In the peaceful government of his kingdom, Jayakesi-II (*1104-48 A.D.*) was assisted by Lakshamana. He made the glorious Konkan free from danger.[77] Thereafter Hangal Kadamba conquered Ratnagiri district and stretched out upto Kolhapur. He is supposed to have conquered both Southern and Northern Konkan. He also compelled Vijayadatta, the king to transfer his allegiance to him. But Jayakesi III (*Silahara*) declared himself independent immediately on his accession to the throne in 1187-88 A.D. But Kadamba king Tribhuvanmalla later, was defeated by the Yadav Dandayak Vichana and the conquest of superemacy in the Deccan was finally decided in favour of the Yadavas.[78] Chiplun and Sangmeshwar had, during this period, great trade with Goa.

Shaping the Identity of Konkan :

It is said that the Satavahanas were the first known rulers of Western India. They were known for simplicity and moderation bordering on conservatism in Socio-political affairs. The imperial

Mauryas had extended their sway over the Northern part of the West coast of India. Their feudetories or relatives ruled over the Konkan from Gharapuri for a long time. They acted as coastal guards of the whole coast-line. Chalukya king Pulkesin-II after resisting the Southward march of Emperor Harshavardhan, the lord of the North. In 622 A.D. he, uprooted the Mauryas from Gharapuri by invading their battle ships. This was a disaster not for the feudetory Mauryas so much, but for the Badami Chalukya to a greater extent as the Arab adventurer Usman-Uth-Takfi sacked Thane in 636 A.D. Pulkesin's early death in 642 A.D. left a legacy of exposing the Western-coast to the mischief of pirates.

The administrative pattern of Konkan region was shaped by the Mauryas, the Saka Kshatrapas especially Maharanapratap Rudradaman, the Shilaharas and the Kadambas who were subordinate rulers under the Rashtrakutas and Chalukyas of Kalyani respectively. We shall now focus our attention on the history of Konkan during the period from the 7th Century to the 13th century.

Pirates, ships and sea-battles on the Konkan coast :

The landscape, the environment, the ' elan vital ' of the people inhabiting the place and the dominant cultural traditions generally lend a special character to the Konkan region. The Western Sea-board stimulated contacts with overseas countries and the merchants of the West found great opportunities for trade and commerce in the ancient and early medieval times. The Konkan was frequently troubled by the menace of the pirates. It was a worldwide phenomenon in the middle ages. We find the echo of this in the inscriptions of the Shilahara king Aparaditya.-I, in his Vadavati Copper-plate (*21, 10, 1127*).[79]

The Colonies of non-Indian people on the coast-line of Arabs, Parsis and others at Sanjan (*Sayyam*) and those of Arabs in Chaul and Goa created a great problem. The trade flourished, so also piracy and the Arab merchants began to play the role of supporting Kadambas against the Shilaharas.[80]

The Ships were found not only in the harbours and ports mentioned in the plate but were used for coastal trade overseas. It was not the monopoly of the governments of the regions but the privilege was scattered among leading merchants and the ministers of the states.[81] The ship-building industry was a prosperous one as Kadamba Shasta-II as credited to have covered the whole West coast with war ships to fight against the Shilahara king Chhittaraj.[82]

Sea-battles and Konkan coast :

The battle of Chalukya Pulkesin-II with the Mauryas of Gharapuri of 610 A. D. appears to be a Sea-battle. The Mauryas fought from the fortified capital that is Gharapuri. The Chalukyas had a small fleet and thus could attack Gharapuri from the Kolaba (*Raigad*) coast. It must have been something like Chimaji Appa leading an assault on the Bassein fort. The defeat of the Mauryas resulted in exposing the Northern part of Konkan to foreign invasion.

The second battle was fought by the Kadamba Shashta-II against Shilahara Chhi Aaraj around Thane. His father Aparajit had earlier suppressed the Goa Kadambas and had assumed the title of ' Load of the Western Sea ' (*Pasohim Samudradhipati*), Kadamba ruler Shasthadev avenged the defeat of his father by establishing his control over the Western Coast.

The third battle was between the last of the Shilahara Kings, Someshwara and Yadava King Mahadeo. The Yadavas had a strong elephant wing and they drove the Shilahara King into the sea. The commemorative stone (*Vira-gale*) found at Borivli in Greater Bombay depicting the sea battle on the plaque, is believed to be the representation of the battle of 1262 A.D. between the two kings.[83]

Forests, Orchards and fields in Konkan :

The rising and sinking of coastal regions on the Western sea-board in the previous millennium is a matter which is to be studied by geographers and geologists. The great mountain wall which separates the Deccan plateau from the Sea-Board, blessed the Konkan region with heavy rainfall. It impeded transport and communication of the Konkan with the regions on the other side of Sahyadri mountain. However the forests provided the region with abundance of timber, wood, gum and medicinal plants. Thane, Kalyan, Sopara and Chaul were exporting timber and medicinal herbs to the Gulf countries for a long time.[84]

As the Sahyadri mountain ranges provided abundant rainfall, vegetation and wild life in the coastal region was preserved and beautified with orchards and gardens. Arecenut, Coconut, and other palm trees like the Tad lined the coastline, in Konkan. These trees were planted to stop erosion of the coast a and similarly mango trees, flowering trees and teak of local variety (*Sal, Khair, Kinal*) were planted on the banks of streams and rivulets. The orchards owned by rich men figure in the Shilahara records. The government could collect taxes from the owners of the fruit trees.

The most interesting information is supplied by Shilahara Mummuni in his Thane Copper-plate (*20-2-1049*). The land grants to the Brahmanas extend from Mulund to Bhivapuri (*now on the central railway*) and from Kandivli to Virar. (now on the Western railway) Some of the names of the fields are: Singhadvipa Kshetra, Madhukrcha, Kusumbholi Kshetra, Chanevati Kshetra, Talavati Kshetra etc. The names of the fields of the boundaries specified in the charter, show how the official records were maintained and were known to the common man. The names of the fields in Konkan might be indicative of the crops grown and could be easily identified.

Economic Progress in Konkan :

The northern Shilaharas as well as the Southern Shilaharas gave full attention to the agricultural activities and gifted away land to the priests. They insisted that it should be cultivated by the recipient or get it cultivated. The Southern Shilaharas refer to the ' Waingana,'[85] that is, two season crops and encouraged reclaiming of waste land by planting fruit-trees.

A reference is already made to the orchards and gardens in Konkan. Which was a source of revenue for the government and the people valued even a small piece of land granted to them for raising crops. Thus the needs of the people and those of the government were identical.

The Soil and climate in the Konkan is not favourable for raising variety of food crops or cash crops. The region however favored the growth of coconut and aeronauts or Betel nuts. The region thrived on trade with foreign countries. The government reduced customs so that trading community would be encouraged to increase the volume of trade. A reference to **Dinar**[86] in the same grant and a reference to golden **Dramma** in Mummunis copper plate referred to above, give ample proof of the prosperous business that was carried on by the merchants from Konkan. In this connection reference must be made to ' **Hayyamena** ' and ' **Nagar** ' the two terms used by the Shilaharas of Northern Konkan.[87] These are canarese terms and mean trade guilds- ' Hayyamana ' were the trade guilds of goldsmiths, iron-Carpenters and other artisans. The ' Nagar ' represented the ' **Shreru** ' or organization of the merchants.

Banking Business in Konkan :

The banking business is mentioned in inscriptions in the Kanheri caves. Similar financial institutions prevailed in other parts of the region. It is significant that even during the times of war the trade was not affected. The Arab traders and local traders contributed to

the prosperity of the Konkan region. The policy of the government of the time was to see that the wealth of the nation increased manifold and the economy became vibrant.

Liberalism in religion in Konkan :

The six hundred years under review, in Konkan, marked the priests, acharyas and ' munis ' from Northern India were invited to the capital cities to enrich the spiritual life of the people. The spiritual men from Buddhist and Jain faiths received the same veneration as the -Acharyas and Mahabrahmanas of Hindusim. Among the Hindu Spiritual leaders the Pashupatas and Tantriks also received patronge. The Shilaharas were mainly worshippers of Shiva. The Konkan king Aparajita (*975-1010 A.D.*) sent his son Prince Arikhesari to visit the famous Someshwere Temple in Gujrat[88] in the year 1017 A.D. to pay homage to the deity.

The enlightened king Aparaditya-I (*1110-1140 A.D.*) wrote a scholarly commentary on ' **Yadnyavalkya Smriti** ' The commentary, did not find favour in the Deccan as ' Mitakshra ' of Vidnyaneshwara became popular but ' **Apararka Tika** ' was adopted in Kashmir. Thus the contact between Konkan and Kashmir, a thousand years ago, throw light on cultural activities of the people.

The Shilaharas, the Kadambas, the Kalchuris, or their imperial lords, the Rashtrakutas and Chalukyas who controlled Konkan at one time or the other did not persecute the followers of other faiths. In Hankal[89] testified that there was a large Muslim population in -Sayyam (*Sanjan*) and a Jama Masjid stood gracefully in that town. The Arabs of that town had made a donation to Bhagvati Temple.[90] The spirit of liberalism in religious matters is reflected in the religious toleration and financial support to temples, monasteries and Viharas.

Administrative set up in Konkan Kingdom :

The administrative set up was the same as in other parts of the country. The village was the important unit; the districts, provinces, the feudatories and the central government of the kingdom; in short represented the pattern followed by the Indian rulers. In the Konkan, the rulers had council of ministers and the Shilaharas merely always mentioned the names of their ministers. What was remarkable among the Shilahara rulers of Konkan was that they impartially considered practically all sections or their people while making grants of villages either to temples. Priests or to merchants and others. The grants were publicly announced and people were invited and told about their responsibilities to allow the beneficiary to enjoy the gift of land without **hindrance**. In this respect Chhedvaideva's copper plate and Anandeva's Kharepatan gift charter are relevant to the point.[91]

Shiva temple at Ambernath in Konkan :

The temple was built by the Shilaharas of Thane. King Chhittaraj started the construction sometime in 1030 A.D. and his brother Mummuni completed it in 1061 A.D.[92] The architecture may be a synthesis of the Northern and Southern styles but what makes the temple great is the vivid representation of the life of Konkan in the sculpture on the outer walls. If anybody wishes to know the bright and dark side of the life in Northern Konkan he may visit it with open mind and study every panel from West to East, North to South and from bottom to top. A fleeting panorama of life in Konkan, a thousand years ago, gracefully passes before our eyes.

A keen Observer should find in the sculpture, life in its material and spiritual aspects. The deities- the standing Trimurthi on the Eastern side, the Chandika in the Northern side, Vishnu and Ganpati in the South, are prominent. The dancing Ganpati is excellent. As we enter the temple from the West which is the entrance gate, just above it, is the sculpture of Ravana with a single head, lifting Kailash mountain with his strong arms, Shiva-Parvati are shown as sitting on the mountain.

On the Eastern side as well as on the Northern side are " apsaras " Princesses and their attendants and the ascetics and peasants adorn the upper walls. It is especially interesting to find a lad dressed in a loose Persian gown-training animals. At the top of the structure is the figure of divine warrior Yaksha Manibhadra. He is known as giver of wealth and commander of Kubera. The interest of the merchant community was thus ably guarded. The ' tantriks ' also have their share in the sculptural of erotic scenes bordering on obscenity. The life of common men and women with their folk dance and amusement also are well represented. It is necessary that more people come forward to study the architecture and the sculpture of this Shiva temple so that this monument representating the life of Konkan can be saved from complete damage.

Condition of masses in Konkan :

The condition of Ambernath Temple in a way reflects the apathy and indifference towards the Konkan region as a whole shown by the rulers. The condition of the Warlis, the Thakurs, the Shepherds, the Fishermen, the Land-labourers and the petty traders in short the masses have progressively deteriorated. It would be some comfort to know that their forefathers with limited means of transport and communication and other modern gadgets led a better life. Their fields, orchards, coastal trade and contacts with foreigners had enriched their lives upto the 13th century.

The last Silahara ruler Someshwara (*1240 to 1265 A.D.*) was defeated and killed by the Yadava ruler Mahadeo (*1260 to 1272 A.D.*) Thereafter Konkan was annexed to the territories of Yadavas.[93] The viceroys of the Yadavas of Devgiri ruled over the Deccan including Konkan from the days of Singhana (*1200 to 1247 A.D.*) down to Ramchandra or Ramdeva (*1271 to 1310 A.D.*) and his son Singhana (*1311 to 1313 A.D.*).[94]

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English Factory at Rajapur

CHAPTER - II

KONKAN UNDER MUSLIM RULE

Konkan under Muslim rule :

The Yadavas of Devagiri ruled over the whole of the Deccan including Konkan till the close of the 13th century. In 1296 A. D. Alauddin Khilji of Delhi dashed across the Vindyas and swooped on Ramdeo, the Yadav ruler of Devagiri and forced him to submit. Malik Kafur made Devagiri the centre of Khilji expansion and later of the Tughluq domination in the South. The era of Khalji imperialism was followed by the rule of the Tughluqs. Muhammed bin Tughluq attempted to give a suitable administration to the Deccan and appointed able officers to look after it.

Part of Konkan came under Bahmani Rule :

During the second half of his reign, his officers in the Deccan, the Omiran-i-Sadah, rose in open rebellion against the central authority, and founded the Bahmani Kingdom in 1347 A.D.[1] Alauddin Bahman Shah had laid the foundation of the Kingdom with the support of the Deccani and foreign nobles alike. In a short time, writes Ferishta, the territory from the river Bhima to the vicinity of the fort Adoni and from the port of Chaul to the city of Bidar, was brought under his authority.[2] The rulers of the Bahamani dynasty sought moral and material help from the foreigners who began to flow into the Deccan from the coast round the Persian Gulf and from Iran, Iraq and Arabia. So in the Bahamani Court there were two factions. The foreign group was represented by the Afagnis, who were mainly Iranians. The other faction was represented by the Deccanis who has come from Northern India. The latter had married native women, raised families of mixed descent, and like the early Aryans, had begun to look upon the country as their own, by virtue of their permanent settlement in the Deccan and association with its soil.[3]

Army deputed to conquer the country called Konkan :

In 1357 Alauddin Bahaman Shah divided his Kingdom into four provinces, the North-West province is described as comprehending Chaul, Junnar, Daulatabad, Bid and Paithan.[4] Muhammad-II who ruled from 1378 A.D. to 1397 A.D. was an enlightened ruler. When his

kingdom was ravaged by famine, he made prompt and efficient arrangement for the transport of grain from Gujarat and Malwa among Muslims only at cheap rates. He established orphanages in various centres in the Kingdom, two of which were at the Konkan ports of Chaul and Dabhol.[5] In 1436 A. D. an army was sent with instructions to reduce to tract of country along the sea shore called Konkan, the Chief of Raigad was made tributary.[6]

In the reign of Alauddin Ahmed who succeeded his father the conflict between the Deccanis and the Foreigners became more acute than ever. The foreigners influenced the Sultan who ordered that on all ceremonial occasions foreigners should appear on his right and the Deccanis on his left. This partiality shown by the Sultan enraged the Deccanis against their rivals, culminating in the massacre of large number of them.[7]

Konkan-the real cradel of Native Independence :

During the reign of Bahamani king Ahmed Shah (1422 A.D. to 1429 A.D.), Western Maharashtra especially Konkan was the real cradel of native independence. Macro Polo alludes to the rich trade of Konkan infinitely dressed leather, cotton goods, gold and silver though the sea was infested with pirates. Bahmani boats were occasionally put out to the sea from Dabhol and Chaul to bring commodities to the kingdom from diverse maritime centres.

Campaigns in Konkan :

In 1430 A. D. Khalaf Hasan Basri (Malik-ul-Tujiar) was ordered by Sultan Ahmed Shah Bahamani-I to Subdue the Konkan coast. But the territory round Mahim was disputed by the Sultan of Gujarat. Conflict was however, averted by the intervention of some holy men on either side.[8] Konkan was subjugated from time to time, but, nobody could consolidate his rule in Konkan.[9]

In 1436 Hindu Raja of Sonekhair was defeated by the Bahamani forces.[10] Eleven years later Malik-ul-Tujjar was again sent to the Konkan (1453) with a plan to reduce to subjugation all the fortresses alongwith the sea coast. Malik-ul-Tujjar was with 7,000 Deccany infantry and 3,000 Arabian cavalry, besides his own division. He secured the fort near the city of Junnar as his abode and from there he sent detachments at different times into Konkan and reduced several Rajas to subjugation. At length he personally attacked the country of Shirke and obliged him to surrender and deliver himself and his family into his hands.[11] He asked the Shirke either to embrace Islam or death by the sword. Thereupon Shirke pointed out that there existed between him and Raja of Khelna (Vishalgad), Shri. Shankar

Ray, a family jealousy. Therefore he should be compelled to embrace Islam. He offered his active help in reducing the Khelna Raja into submission. Malik-Ul-Tujjar replied that he heard the road to the Shankar Ray's country was woody and full of different pases, to which Shirke assured him his personal guidance and help in this expedition.[12] Accordingly Malik-Ut-Tujjar depending upon the promises of the Raja, in the year 1453 began his march towards Khelna, but he was deserted at the outset by the Deccanis and Abyssinian officers.

Konkan Campaign takes heavy toll of Muslim Soldiers :

"Raje Shirke agreeing to his promise, during the first two days, conducted the army along a broad road, so that the general praised his zeal and fidelity; but on the third day he led them by the paths so intricate through the awful view of the mountains where the sun never enlivened with his splendour the valleys; nor had providence designed that it should penetrate their depths. Death dwelt in the waters and poison impregnated the breeze. After winding, weary and alarmed, through these dreadful labyrinths the army entered a darker forest, a passage through which was difficult even to the winds of heaven. It was bounded on three sides by mountains, whose heads towered above the clouds, and on the other side was an inlet of the ocean, so that there was no path by which to advance, nor road for retreat but by which they had entered."[13]

"Malik-Ul-Tujjar at this crisis fell ill of a bloody flux, so that he could not attend to the regularity of the line of march or give orders for the disposition of his troops who, being excessively fatigued about nightfall flung themselves down to rest wherever they could find room, for there was no spot which admitted of two tents being pitched near each other. While the troops were thus in disorder, Shirke, their treacherous guide informed Shankar Ray that he had accomplished as decided by them. The Ray joined the Shirke and both of them with their force, about midnight attacked the Mussalmans from all sides who were asleep due to excessive exertions. In this helpless state, nearly 7,000 soldiers of the faithful were put to death, like sheep, with knives and daggers; the wind blowing violently, the rustling of the trees prevented the troops from hearing the cries of their fellow-sufferers. Among these was Mulaik-Ul-Tujjar who fell with 500 noble syuds of Madina, Kurbulla and Nujuf as also some Deccany and Abeyssinian Officers, together with about 2,000 of their adherents, who had remained with their general. Before day-light, the Ray, having completed his bloody work retired with his people from the forest."[14] This was a heroic episode for the chieftains of

Konkan. Like Shirke and Ray in Konkan there were many hard nuts to crack. Inspite of this Mahmud Gawan the Chief Minister of Bahmani Kingdom, increased the Bahmani dominions to an extent never reached before. One of the tasks to which he addressed himself was to rehabilitate the prestige of the Sultans sheltered in Western Maharashtra and Konkan by the disastrous Khelna expedition of Mulaik-Ul-Tujjar.

Maratha Rajas activities in Konkan :

The Maratha Rajas of Khelna and Sangameshwar, emboldened by their recent triumph continued their relentless activities in Konkan. They particularly meddled with the sea-trade making common cause with the pirates of the west-coast. The Raja of Sangmeshwar alone, according to Gawan, sent 130 ships to rob the Mecca pilgrims annually, and many thousands of Muslims were sacrificed at the altar of the greed of these people.[15] Therefore Gawan himself undertook Konkan expedition which proved the most hazardous.[16] Ahmad-II was succeeded by his son Alauddin Humayun Shah on 7th May 1438. A.D. He too like his predecessor bestowed high honours on the Foreigners and appointed Mahmud Gawan as Prime Minister of the kingdom, giving his full control over the military affairs.[17] The advent of Gawan in the politics of the Deccan gave a new shape to the longstanding party strife which entered its last phase. During the period of Gawan's ministry, the frontiers of the kingdom extended from Sea to Sea; the Konkan was occupied, the Godavari and the Krishna Doab were annexed; expeditions were led into the very heart of Orissa and Kanchi. As the boundaries of the Bahmani kingdom now touched the Bay of Bengal in the East and Arabian sea in the West, Gawan resolved to introduce some administrative reforms. He divided the kingdom into eight Sar-i-Lashkarship or provinces of equal size.[18] He also revolutionised the system of military administration.

Mahmud Gawan gains victory in Konkan campaign :

Early 1469 (874 H.) Mahmud Gawan marched into Konkan by committing the passes to the protection of ten thousand infantry. He waited for five months before the Khelna without reducing it but by stratagem and bribes he obtained possession of the fortress of Khelna, which has never till then been in the hands of the Mussalmans.[19]

Gawan returned to the capital only after an arduous campaign lasting for three years. The Bahmani empire split up into five kingdoms as follows : (1) The Imadshahi of Berar in 1484 (2) The

Adilshahi of Bijapur in 1489 (3) The Nizamshashi of Ahmadnagar in 1490 (4) Qutubshahi of Golkonda in 1518 and (5) The BaridShahi of Bidar in 1526.

Of the five kingdoms referred to above, the Imadshahi was absorbed by Ahmadnagar in 1574 and the Baridshahi by Bijapur in 1609. From the point of view of Konkan history, the Nizamshahi and the Adilshahi which played important role in the seventeenth century must engage most of our immediate attention.

Gujarat kingdom's sway over the Konkan Coast :

By the close of the 15th century Gujarat extended its sway over the Konkan coast. In 1495 the Konkan was divided by Mohammed Begada of Gujarat into five districts.[20] He also tried to bring Bombay and Bassein under his control by creating hostility against these places. He established a garrison at Nagothana and sent an army to Chaul.[21] At this time according to Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Daman, Bassein and Bombay were included in the Gujarat kingdom. Gujarat king was collecting revenue from Agasi, Danda, Sorab (probably Sopara), Bassein, Bhiwandi, Kalyan, Bombay and Panvel. The early Portuguese accounts as well as the account of the Italian traveler Varthema mentions that a large area of the North Konkan coast was under Gujarat. But according to Duart Barbosa, a Factor was appointed at Chaul by the Portuguese in 1715.[22] Varthema also mentions that there was a Gujarat Governor at Nagothana and that in 1540 there were Gujarat Commandants of the hill forts of Karnala in Panvel and Sakhasi in Pen.[23]

Portuguese settlement in Konkan :

During the 16th century the Portuguese secured firm footing on the Western Coast especially in the districts of Kolaba and Thane. They extended their authority over Goa, Diu and Daman. In the beginning they contented themselves with establishing factories, but the factories were soon turned into fortresses and open contests took place for maintaining supremacy on the sea. The Portuguese Government appointed Don Franciso De Almeida as the political head of the Portuguese dominions in the East in 1505. He came in contact with the Sultans of Ahmednagar and Bijapur. Early in January 1508 the Portuguese received a heavy blow at Chaul at the hands of Amir Hassan the admiral of the king of Egypt, and Malik Ayaz, the Commander of the Gujarati fleet.

The port of Chaul had a Portuguese settlement on the coast but the city and its adjacent villages remained in the possession of the Nizamshahi Kings till the year 1625 A.D. and served as one of the

biggest commercial industrial centres of the Nizamshahi kingdom, during the 16th and 17th centuries of the Christian era.[24]

The Portuguese captures Goa and Chaul :

The Portuguese activities in the Indian waters started on the arrival of Vasco De Gama at Calicut in 1498. The Portuguese had their trips to India every year in the name of trade. The two Portuguese travelers Barbosa and Pires who arrived in the Konkan region early in the 16th century give us valuable insight into the pattern of the coastal commerce. Barbosa mentions the visits of merchants of Chaul and Dabhol to Diu by Sea.[25] The merchants of Chaul purchased fine muslins, which they carried to Arabia and Persia for making turbans.[26] At the turn of 16th century Dabhol, Chaul, Cambay and Diu were four important ports engaged in the coastal traffic. in 1508 Almedia, a Portuguese Captain attacked and occupied the Adilshahi port of Dabhol on 30th December.[27] Albuquerque, the successor of Almeida was more aggressive than his predecessor. He captured Goa on 17th February 1510[28] from the Adilshahi king. Since then all efforts made by Adilshahi kings failed to dislodge the Portuguese from Goa. With the loss of Goa the major portion of the sea-borne trade passed into the hands of the Portuguese. Goa was made capital of their eastern empire by the Portuguese. Indeed the trade of the Konkan region came to be dominated by Goa and soon it became the chief port of the region. The Portuguese secured supplies from the fort of Chaul. In 1516 the Portuguese governor Dom-Jo-Demonoy attacked Mahim fort by entering Bandra creek and defeated the commandant of the fort. In the same year, Portuguese established a factory at Chaul and built a fort after securing the permission of Burhan Nizamshah.[29] The Portuguese governor entered into a treaty with Burhan Nizamshah and immediately commenced building the fort on the Northern side of the creek about half a league to the South, for it was the most convenient site for warlike purposes.[30] Among the stipulation of the treaty was the one concerning the importation of horses for the use of Burhan Nizamshah who agreed to assist the Portuguese against the Gujaratis.[31] Gujarat governor Mallik Biaz took strong objection for the unauthorised construction but inspite of the governor's protests the Portuguese carried out the work. Thereupon in order to stop the building of the fort the governor of Diu, sent a fleet against the Portuguese but it was defeated and therefore he had to withdraw it.[32] The Portuguese could now sail to Bombay freely. In 1521, the Portuguese captured Chaul belonging to the Gujarati Sultan.[33]

The Portuguese enhanced their mastery over the Indian Ocean :

In 1531, Diu was sacked by the Portuguese. In 1532, the Portuguese burnt Daman. All the towns from Bassein to Tarapur on the Konkan coast were subjected to indiscriminate plunder and arson.[34] They also captured Bassein in 1535.[35] Thus they controlled the important ports in Konkan. This enabled them to control the Sea-trade. In 1558 the Portuguese seized Daman[36] and destroyed the Indian section of Chaul. In 1556 the Portuguese Governor Francisco Barretco, took Asheri and Manora fortresses and in 1559 the Portuguese Viceroy Constatine De Braganza, captured the fort of Daman. In 1569 the Portuguese fleet ransacked the coast from Cochin to Cambay.[37]

By about 1580, the Portuguese were ruling Diu, Daman, the island of Bombay, Bassein and Chaul in North Konkan, Goa Island, Salsette and Bardoz on the Western coast.[38]

The Portuguese established their mastery over the Indian Ocean in the 16th century and they prohibited the ships of other nations from plying in it without Portuguese permit.[39] Later when the Dutch and the British came to India, their conflicts with the Portuguese gradually diminished the Portuguese maritime power. Even so, during the regime of the Mughals, Adilshah, the Raja of Bednur, and also Shivaji the great and Sambhaji, it was customary for them to take Portuguese permits (cartazes) for sailing ships in the Indian Ocean.[40]

Administration of Portuguese in India :

An understanding of the Portuguese administration in their home country in India from 1581 to 1652 A.D. is desirable. In 1581 King Philip-II of Spain became the king of Portugal assuming the name as king Philip I. During his regime Don Francisco Mascarenhas, Count of Sants cruz was selected to the post of Viceroy of Portuguese India. He came to Goa on 16th September 1581 and resumed the charge of his post. The Viceroys were appointed for three years only. So in 1584 Duarte de Menzes succeeded him. He died in 1588. Thereafter Manoel de Souza Coutinho became the Viceroy and Mathias de Albuqurque succeeded him in May 1591. Dom Francisco de Gama received a charge of the post of Viceroy from Mathias De Albuqurque in May 1597. Gama was succeeded by Ayres de Saldana in May 1600. Dom Martin Affanso de Castro became the Viceroy in 1604. But unfortunately died after 2 and 1/2 years on 6th October 1606. So Archbishop of Goa Dom F. Alexius de Menazes was asked to assume the charge of the Governors' post. Dom Joao Pereira Frojas Conde de Feyra was posted as the Viceroy in 1609. He left for India to

assume the charge of the post but in the journey he died on May 15. After temporary arrangement Ruy Laurenzo de Tavora became the Viceroy on 1st September 1609. He served as a Viceroy for three years and handed over the charge of the post to Dom Hierome de Azavedo on 24th December 1612. He remained in the post till the end of 1617.[41] He was relieved by Dom Joas Coutinho, Coude de Redonda who died on 10th November 1619 in Goa. So according to the orders in the secret envelop Ferdinao de Naronha became Viceroy. Philip-III, the king of Portugal had appointed Dom Affanso de Naronha to the post of Viceroy. He started from Lisbon on 29th April 1621 to assume the charge of the post at Goa but during the voyage he died. So king Philip-VI (Philip-III died on 31.3.1621) deputed Dom Franscisco De Gama as a Viceroy once again. Previously he had held this office in India for three years and left India in the year 1600. During his tenure enemies of Portugal in the East were becoming powerful, both with ships and men; many of their ships being large and heavily armed. To add to the difficulties of the Portuguese, the revenues at their several ports were considerably diminished, owing to an extensive system of smuggling, more especially at Goa and in Ceylon.[42] While coping with this state of affairs Dom Francisco de Gama in 1627 received orders from Lisbon to hand over his office to D.F. Luiz de Brito, Bishop of Cochin.[43] This Viceroy died in July 1629 and Nuno Olvarez Botello assumed the office of Governor on 2nd August 1629 according to the orders from Lisbon. In the same year Lisbon nominated Conde De Linhares to the Government of India in Lisbon. He came to India and served there till 1635 A.D. He left the Portuguese possessions in India in a state of General peace.[44] Pedro De Silva became the Viceroy and succeeded him in December 1635. This Viceroy died on 24th June 1639. So the temporary arrangement was made by appointing D.F. Fransciso, the Arch Bishop of Goa to this post till Antonio Telis assumed the charge of the post on 4th December 1639. A revolution took place in Portugal and Dom Jaao-IV became the king of Portugal on 15th December 1640. Telode Menezes who was posted as Viceroy assumed the charge of the post on 20th September 1640. He was succeeded by Dom Philipi Mascarenhas on 10th April 1644. He joined his duties at Goa on 30th December 1644. He left the charge in the hands of three men's committee and left Goa according to the orders of the king of Portugal. The king appointed Conde De Obidos to the post who left Lisbon on 15th March, 1652 and resumed the charge on 6th September 1652 at Goa.[45]

The Nizamshahi - Portuguese Relations in Konkan :

We have already seen that in 1580 the Portuguese were ruling Daman, island of Bombay, Bassein and Chaul in North Konkan. In 1580 when Portugal had been annexed to Spain, her commercial and political policy underwent a change in so far as it began to be dominated by the Spanish police which was more religious and less commercial. Proselytisation became the order of the day and the Portuguese engaged themselves in converting the Indians to Christianity. They did not give up their missionary zeal till they got a blow to their dominions by the English and the Dutch.[46]

Although the Portuguese had a peace treaty concluded with the Nizamshahi in 1571, in 1592 there occurred an incident which sparked the quarrel between the two powers. A ship named " Husaini " which was coming from Mecca to the port of Mustafabad (Chaul) with a large number of Muslim pilgrims was plundered by the Portuguese near Vaisi which was in their possession. To put down the Portuguese effectively in that region the Nizamshahi built up a fort on the hill of Korla, overlooking the sea between Chaul and Revadanda. With view to strike terror into the hearts of the Portuguese, Burhan Nizamshah II declared a holy war against the Portuguese.[47] A large army numbering about 10,000 horsemen marched under the command of Farhad Khan against the Portuguese. Shujaatkhan was soon ordered to reinforce the fort of Korla and defend it.[48] For some time the Portuguese suffered reverses but soon they succeeded in throwing the supplies into the fort of Revadanda and with the help of four thousand fresh reinforcement they attacked the fort of Korla. On the approach of the Portuguese, the Nizamshahi fled in confusion towards the fort, whither they were so closely followed by the invaders who gained entrance into it, put 12,000 of them to sword and set fire to it, destroying it completely.[49] Thereafter, Nizamshahi got reinforcement. Arriving before the fort in April 1592 the Nizamshahi opened the siege. The Portuguese also got a fresh help of garrison and they attacked the Nizamshahi army. A severe battle took place in which the latter were defeated with heavy losses and many of them were slain in the field of battle.[50] In 1594 Burhan Nizamshah-II again assembled a large army of foreigners to attack the Portuguese in Konkan. But due to his death the kingdom of Ahmednagar was practically engaged in civil war and palace revolution. In these circumstances the Portuguese were left free to pursue their own course of action on the Nizamshahi soil. In 1600 the Mughals laid siege to the fort of Ahmednagar. The Portuguese, for their own selfish

interests, secretly helped the siege (1600-1) by supplying them with men, money and ammunitions.[51]

Although the fort of Ahmednagar was captured by the Mughals it got a fresh lease of life at the hands of Malik Ambar. As to the Portuguese, their position in the commercial and political set up had undergone a redical change. In fact, after 1600 A.D. the Portuguese power began to decline because of their corrupt officers and rivalry with the English and the Dutch who were giving blows to the Portuguese on land and on the sea. At this time the port of Chaul was controlled by the Portuguese from the adjoining hillock which was in their possession and near it lay Nizamshahi port of Revadanda which now afforded the point of contact between them and Malik Ambar in 1601 A.D.[52] Guided by the instincts of self preservations the Portuguese openly sought an alliance with him.[53] The relations between the two remained very cordial till 1604, when the Portuguese obtained from the Regent the right of collecting half of the Land Revenue in the vicinity of Chaul. But the Portuguese wrought great havoc near Chaul in 1605. To stop their brutal conduct Abdul Karim, provincial Governor of Chaul, got the help of the Dutch fleet to cruise against the Portuguese in 1609 A.D.[54] Thus open war began at Chaul, to wage it on a large scale both the sides made full preparations. Several skirmishes fought. But no decisive battle took place. Both of them heard the impending campaign of Khan Jahan Lodi in the Deccan and they sank their differences and concluded peace.[55]

During the period Chaul was visited by the French traveler Francois Pyrard, who was in India between 1601 to 1608. He writes, "The city and fortress of Chaul differs from others (Damaun and Bassein), in being extremely rich and abounding in valuable goods, which merchants from all parts of India and the east came here to seek for. But the principal article is silk, which is so large in quantity that it could supply both the markets of Goa and India, and are far nicer than those of China. In Goa it is highly appreciated and they make the clothing of it, besides of the cotton stuff which is also woven here.[56] Thus the traveler alludes to the state of peace in the country.

Thereafter, trouble arose at Chaul in 1612-13. A.D. The Thanedar of Chaul, to avenge the losses he had sustained at the hands of the Portuguese plotted against the Portuguese commander of the fort. He was taken unaware and assassinated. Ferdinao De Sampayo Da Cunha, who was in command also arrived and surrounded the Muslims and put every one of them to death. After this Da Cunha ravaged the whole country adjacent to town and made three hundred

captives. This enraged Nizamshah who decided to attack Portuguese strongholds at Salsette, Bassein and Agashi.[57] The Portuguese Fort of Manora was besieged by the Muslims. Malik Amber also sent more troops against Agashi. The Portuguese were now reduced to a miserable plight but the timely arrival of Freire De Andrade at Agashi saved the situation.[58] No sooner did Andrade find himself free from the threat of Muslim forces, than he was called to Daman where the local king had sent his men to drive away the Portuguese inhabitants. Andrade put them to flight. After the conditions became normal the Portuguese, for there own safety, came to a sort of truce with Malik Ambar and thereby also obtained a respite to recoup their losses.[59]

In 1615 the Portuguese, Burhan Nizamshah-III and Adilshah concluded a treaty of peace among themselves on 9th October 1615 ratifying the terms of treaty of 1571 A.D.[60] But as Malik Ambar entertained friendly relations with the Dutch and the English, an additional condition was incorporated in it.[61]

It was laid down that in the Nizamshahi territory the English and the Dutch should be forbidden to settle down and its ruler should never extend any sort of assistance to them.

After five years of friendship, terms of treaty were violated by disturbing the peace of Chaul in June 1625 A.D. In the same year, the port of Dabhol was annexed by the Nizamshahi. Thereafter, the Portuguese came to a sort of truce with the Nizamshahi resident of that place on 10th June 1625.[62] During the year 1623 and 1625 a traveler Pietro della Valle visited Chaul and has left a record of peace and tranquility that prevailed in Chaul.[63] Thereafter, Chaul witnessed the state of rapid decline. The resident of Chaul remained supremely indifferent to the inevitable decay and dissolution which awaited the misgoverned settlement. The military spirit of Chaul was on decline in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.[64]

During the decline of the Nizamshahi Kingdom, Malik Ambar, the Abyssinian minister of Ahmednagar, managed the revenus in the most enlightened sprit, and extended to the Konkan all the advantages of good Government. He abolished revenue farming and committed the management of the district to Brahmin agents under Muhammadan superintendence. He also carried out survey on very excellent principles, and this in the Konkan extended from the Vaitarna to the Savitri except in the Habshi's territory.[65]

Bijapur and The Portuguese in Konkan :

We have seen that the Portuguese stormed the Goa harbour belonging to Adilshah and occupied it on 25th November 1510. Since

then, the relation between Bijapur and the Portuguese were at no time cordial. Having failed to dislodge the Portuguese from Goa, the Adilshahi adopted a conciliatory policy and concluded a peace treaty with the Portuguese.[66] Thereafter, the relations between Adilshahi and the Portuguese continued to be peaceful for 35 years after which fresh complications arose. In 1545, Adilshah's brother Abdallah quarreled with the king and took refuge with the Portuguese of Goa. At this time the Portuguese were engaged in fight on the Gujarat coast. Ibrahim Adilshah, taking advantage of this, marched with his forces into the disputed districts and re-occupied them.[67] The Portuguese soon returned from Goa and attacked the Bijapuri port of Dabhol, plundered it and hastened towards Goa.[68] They also recaptured the districts of Salsette and Bardes from the Bijapuris. Don Noan De Castro, the Portuguese Governor, despatched a fleet which sacked and burnt Adilshahi ports between Shrivardhan and Goa.[69] Ibrahim Adilshah became nervous at the victories of the Portuguese and sought peace with them. Accordingly a treaty was signed on 22nd August 1548. Adilshah also restored to them the two districts which were earlier captured by them.[70] Adilshah found a grand coalition of Muslim States and defeated the Vijaynagar king at the battle of Talikot in 1565. Emboldened with the success of this battle Adilshah decided to recover Goa and other ports from the Portuguese. Accordingly, in January 1570, Murtaja Nizamshah besieged Chaul and Ali Adilshah himself advanced towards Goa. Ali Adilshah found stiff resistance from the Portuguese and he gave up the siege. The siege of Chaul also fizzled out after seven months.[71] The Portuguese, on the other hand, sacked Dabhol in retaliation of Bijapur's attack on Goa. Bijapuris came to terms and sought the renewal of the treaty of friendship.[72]

Now the Portuguese saw the danger of getting out of their hand Daman and Bassein which were being threatened by the Mughals. The reason was that these places were formerly belonging to the kingdom of Cambay of which the Mughal had now obtained possession. Immediate succour was sent from Goa in the river of Daman in January 1572. This quick action of the Portuguese struck terror into the hearts of the Mughals who immediately sent for peace, and entered into treaty of friendship with the Portuguese.[73] In 1582 there arose a quarrel over Dabhol between the Portuguese and Adilshahi. In the previous treaty Adilshah had agreed to demolish Dabhol fort and hand over cannons therein to the Portuguese. According to the peace treaty, the two Portuguese vessels, the debts

and the Jakats were not returned by the Adilshahi to the Portuguese. The Portrguese went with their fleet before Dabhol to compel Adilshahi to execute the articles of the previous treaty. This had a desired effect. Ali Adilshah entered into fresh treaty with the Goa Viceroy Senor De Franscisco Mascarenhas on 29th January 1582.[74]

Appearance of the Dutch and the English in Indian Waters :

For the account of the circumstances which induced the Dutch and the English to enter into competition with the Portuguese by sending ships direct to India, it is necessary to review briefly the political situation in Europe at this period.

Till 1581 the whole of Europe was under the religions prosecution of the kings of Portugal and Spain. The long persecutions of the king of Spain at last roused the Dutch to throw of the hated Spanish yoke. By the act of " Abjuration " the Dutch declared their independence on 26th July, 1581 and sought military help from England to defend this independence from Spain.[75]

The England understood that the struggle of the Dutch was for the protection of independence and Protestant religion. Therefore, they accepted the invitation of the Dutch and provided them men and material to fight against Spain and Portugal. Thus England and Holand joined together in 1585 to fight against the Portuguese. During the period 1585 to 1600 the English East India Company helped the Dutch to fit out their trading vessels to India. Upto 1585 the trade in India was Portugal's royal monopoly. In 1586 the monopoly to the Portuguese trade was made over by the Government to the Portuguese East India Company.[76]

About 1580 the Franciscan fathers of Portuguese nation took possession of the caves of Kanheri and Mandapeshwar, expelled the Jogis who occupied them, and did their best to destroy the sculptures, as at Elephants, on account of the superstitious feelings of the natives with respect to them. Over the caves at Mandapeshwar they built a Royal College of Salsette for the education of the children of the converts.[77] The Portuguese Jesuits established themselves in every town and village of the Districts of Bassein and Thane. In 1585 the Franciscans received charge of Mandapeshwar, Mahim, Bombay, Karanja, Mount Calvary and Agashi. " Gradually all power fell into the hands of the ecclesiastics, and the church was said to have a larger revenue in India than the king himself. "[78] It is already seen that Queen Elizabeth of England concluded a treaty of alliance with the Dutch in 1585. The king of Spain and Portugal took this incident as a proclamation of war against him and issued a decree ordering

the seizure of all English as well as Dutch vessels within his ports together with confiscation of property and arrest of persons.[79] Inspite of Portuguese opposition the Dutch carried naval expedition to China since 1596 and firmly established their trade in the East in 1599.[80] The English squadron and the Dutch naval flotila started blockading the Portuguese fleet to India.[81]

At Malacca, there arose a war between the Portuguese and the Dutch fleet. The Portuguese succeeded in giving a crushing blow to the Dutch and drove them out of Amboyana and Sunda.[82] In the year 1604-06 the Dutch and the Portuguese had frequent skirmishes. Everytime each party used to suffer a defeat alternatively. This time the Portuguese felt the superiority of the Dutch fleet. In March 1607, there was a steep fight between the Dutch warships and the Portuguese fleet in the port of Mozambique. Both suffered heavy losses.[83] After three months the Dutch received help from the home Government and they anchored in the Goa harbour and blockaded movement of the Portuguese ships.[84] After some time the Dutch fleet sailed away from the Goa port.[85]

In 1611 the English fleet came near Surat, but the Portuguese resisted its anchoring in the port of Surat. After three days of battle the English raised anchor and went away for getting supplies.[86] The Dutch also entered into peace treaty with the king of Kandy on 11th March 1612 and got authority to carry on the trade in the island of Ceylon.[87]

At the end of 1613 the fort of Manora, Portuguese possession was besieged by the enemy; but the besigers were driven off by the Portuguese who afterwards returned to Thane.[88] The Adilshahi Thanedar of Dabhol, dispatched troops against Agashi which was a Portuguese possession. The Portuguese with the help of fleets from Diu and Bassein men drove the Muslims away from the vicinity of that place.[89]

A continued menace caused by the Dutch and the English fleets, compelled the Portuguese to avoid quarrel with the native powers.

In 1615 captain Downton of the British fleet received the news that the Portuguese had suggested to the Mughal Emperor to drive away the English from Surat and capture that city.[90] In 1613-1614 the Portuguese found that the country round Chaul was wholly hostile to the Portuguese.

Bassein was besieged by the Mughals but they were forced to retire, with considerable loss after severe fighting.[91] At this time fort Manora, four leagues from the mouth of the river Agashi was facing

a siege by the Mughals. The Portuguese took the besiegers by surprise, inflicting much damage. The Mughals thereupon raised the siege of Manora and retired.[92] The Mughals now began to attack the Portuguese possessions at Daman and Fonda. The attackers were repulsed with great efforts and loss of men and material. Therefore, the Portuguese concluded a peace treaty with the Emperor Jahangir or 7th June1615.[93] As the Portuguese were experiencing troubles and resistance from these European rivals the chief points in the treaty expressed their mutual enmity to the English and the Dutch and the necessity of destroying the Malabar pirates.[94] However, soon it was noticed by the traveler De la Valle that the English and the Dutch ships were frequenting the ports of Dabhol, Chaul and Bassein without hindrance and without acknowledging the Portuguese supremacy.[95]

However, in 1623, the Dutch fleet moved from Goa port and started towards Surat. On the way, at Dabhol they met with a stiff resistance from the Portuguese, At Dabhol the Dutch demolished one Masjid, put many houses on fire and indulged in looting rich people before they left the port.[96]

In 1625 the Portuguese fleet under Bottelo approached Daman. The English fleet which was passing near Daman had a skirmish with the Portuguese; the battle continued for three days but it was indecisive. Thereafter the English ships went away.

In 1626 the English and the Dutch fleet came near Bombay with the preparation to storm and capture it. The men from the ships got down on the shore of Bombay and looted the city and caused much chaos. The city was burning the whole day. Due to their incessant volleys of Cannon the houses of inhabitants and the fort were burnt. They captured two cannons and returned to their ships in the evening.[97]

The cities of upper and lower Chaul inhabited by the Musalman and the Christian respectively flourished as long as the Ahmednagar kingdom lasted, and for some time afterwards. But the Bijapur kings were always more or less at war with the Portuguese and their Konkan coast was subjected to perpetual ravages; yet it remained entirely in the hands of the Musalmans until the Marathas took it.[98] How this happened is unfolded in the next chapter.

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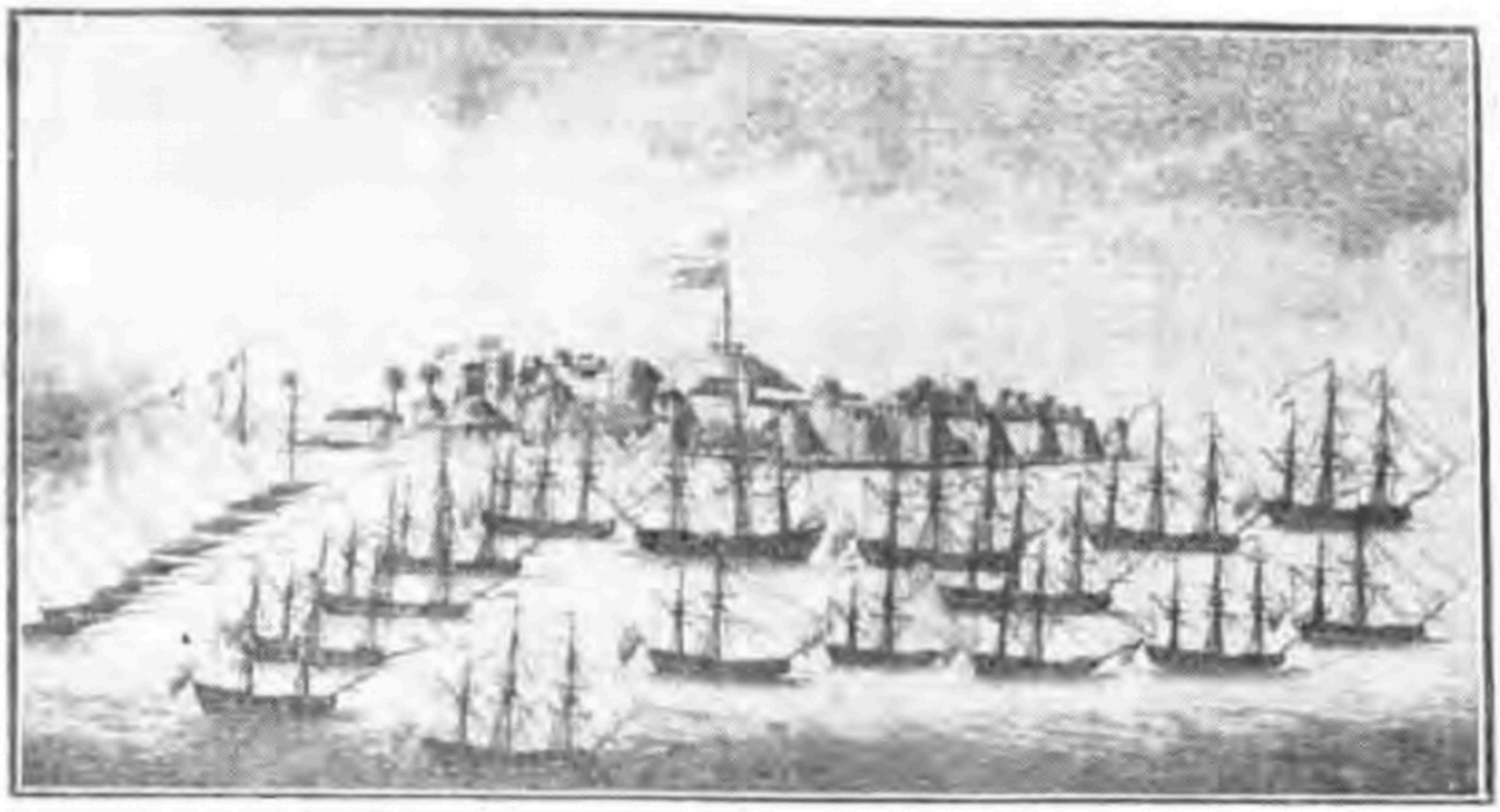

Vijayadrug

Chapter - III

KONKAN BECOMES A PART OF SHIVAJI'S KINGDOM (1630 TO 1680 A.D.)

Konkan becomes a part of Shivaji's Kingdom (1630 to 1680 A.D.) :

Shahaji, father of Shivaji, returned to the service of Nizamshah in 1628. In this year the Nizamshah who proposed to invade Talkonkan asked Kanhoji Jedhe to join him.[1] At this time prince Shahjahan, then a rebel against his father, lay in concealment in the vicinity of Junnar while his family was kept in hiding in the fort of Asheri in Konkan near Mahim on the West coast.[2] On 25th July 1629 the Nizamshah treacherously killed Shahaji's father-in-law Lakhuji Jadhav, his sons and grandsons. So under the pressure of circumstances, Shahaji left the Nizamshahi and accepted a Mansab under Shahjahan. For about a year and a half, from November 1630 to March 1632 Shahaji served the Mughal cause.[3]

Shahaji left Jijabai, his wife, in the fort Shivneri in October 1629 where she gave birth to a son on 16th February 1630.[4] He was named Shivaji who later found the Maratha kingdom.

Draught in Konkan :

In the year 1630-31 the whole of the Deccan including Konkan was in the grip of draught. Therefore, Emperor Shahjahan put off his expedition to the Deccan by one year. During the year 1630 the Portuguese and the English proposed a peace treaty which was concluded in 1635.[5] But the enmity between the Portuguese and the Dutch continued. In the year 1631 Burhan Nizamshah was killed treacherously. Shahaji tried to save Nizamshahi with the help of the Sidis and other Marathas in the Konkan.[6]

The Mughals got reconciled with the Portuguese on Konkan affairs :

In 1632 an ambassador from Emperor Shahjahan came to Bijapur to enter into an alliance with Bijapur and to enlist his active support against Nizamshah who was in occupation of the North Konkan.[7] Adilshah tried to form alliance with the Dutch in order to

recover Goa from the Portuguese. The Portuguese became friendly with Adilshahi and renewed the treaty of friendship with Muhammad Adilshah in April 1633.[8] The treaty reaffirmed the old friendly relations and further laid down that the Adilshah would not enter into any alliance with the Dutch for harming to Portuguese. The Portuguese also deputed their envoy to the Mughal emperor. Their main intention was to urge the emperor not to entertain the Dutch and the English merchants for trade purposes. On the approach of the Portuguese envoy, the Mughals got reconciled with them, freed their 200 ships which were captured in the various ports and gave up the idea of attacking the Portuguese.[9]

Shahaji wanted shelter in Konkan :

While Shahaji was in the service of the Nizamshah, on 26th September 1646, he addressed a letter to the Portuguese Captain in charge of Chaul fort, and requested him to permit his family to stay in the fort of Chaul. As he was stationed at Balaghat and since he had always maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese, he wanted to ensure the safety of his family. Shahaji also added that if the necessity arose, he would seek shelter in the Chaul fort and, in return, even cede come territory from the Nizamshahi kingdom to the Portuguese since it was all in his power. But due to fear of the Mughal Emperor, the Portuguese did not comply with Shahaji's request. They, however, informed Shahaji that if he wanted to remove his family to Dandarajapuri or some such place, they would secretly, help him to do so.[10]

Nizamshahi Konkan comes in the possession of Bijapur King :

In 1636 A.D. Shahjahan came to the Deccan with an army and fixed his headquarters at Daulatabad to direct operations against Nizamshahi in person. He placed a division of 12,000 strong soldiers under the Commander of Khan Zaman and ordered him to march towards Ahmednagar, to reduce to entire Konkan and wait for further orders regarding attack on the Adilshahi country. But the Adilshahi made the conquest of their kingdom by the Mughals more difficult than was expected. Therefore, the Mughals concluded peace with Adilshah. According to terms of the treaty, Adilshah was to pay an annual tribute of twenty lacs of rupees and to acknowledge the Suzerainty of the Mughal Emperors. Secondly, he had to treat the Nizamshahi kingdom as defunct; and its territory wars to be divided between him and the Mughals. He was assigned the area comprising Sholapur, Wangi Mahalls, the Paraganas of Bhalki, Chitkopa and the Konkan which included the district of Poona and Chakan. The treaty

was concluded and ratified by the Mughal Emperor in May 1636 A.D. which sealed the fate of Nizamshahi kingdom.[11] Thereafter, the Mughals annexed the kingdom of Ahmednagar and gave part of Nizamshahi Konkan in the possession of Adilshah of Bijapur.

Portuguese offensive against Adilshah of Bijapur :

Early in 1637 the Dutch envoy Van Twist came to Muhammad Adilshah and sought his permission to trade in the Adilshahi ports and to build a factory at Vengurla. Adilshah gave his consent to this proposal which enraged the Portuguese who used all means to stop Adilshah at Vengurla from executing his promise to the Dutch. However, nothing materialised and the Dutch carried the point. The Portuguese then launched an offensive against the Adilshah by capturing Adilshahi ships with all the merchandise and men on them by imposing customs restrictions on the land frontier and by erecting fortifications in some frontier outputs. These acts were followed by a sharp exchange of notes between Bijapur and Goa.[12]

Adilshah's treaty of friendship with the Portuguese :

The Adilshah turned to the Dutch for help but they failed to respond. Therefore, Adilshah concluded a new treaty of friendship with the Portuguese. It stipulated that the Adilshah would not permit any Dutch to reside in his dominion by providing land and facilities for trade. The Portuguese were allowed to attack the Dutch at Vengurla or at any other seaport. The Portuguese also undertook to compensate Adilshah for any damage done by the Dutch to his vessels provided the Adilshah treated the Dutch as his deadly enemies.[13]

Shivaji seiges Adilshahi territory :

The relations between the Dutch and the Portuguese worsened early in 1643. After 1642, the Adilshahi Government began to decline owing to the Sultan's drunken habits and alcoholism. He became bed ridden in 1646 with paralysis, while his best generals were busy extending his dominions in the Western Karnatak. Due to the negligence of Adilshah from 1646 the Poona district and Kalyan province in Konkan were left to the mercy of the young Shivaji who was seizing territory in the Sinhagad region, looting the treasure that was passing from Kalyan to Bijapur.

A little later, about 1646, Shivaji gained the fort of Torna by winning over its Adilshahi commandant. He also built some new fortifications in the neighbouring hills. But no notice of these acts was taken by the Bijapur Court.[14] After the death of Dadaji (7 March 1647), Shivaji got possession of some more forts from Bijapuri territory and consolidated his position.[15]

Shivaji's possesion in 1649 :

In 1649, the Jagir of Shivaji included Pune, Indapur, Baramati, Chakan and Supa, to this Jagir Shivaji added twelve Mavals as well as the forts of Rohida, Kondana, Torna, Purandar and Rajgad by the year 1653 which formed the foundation of Hindvi Swarajya.[16]

Shivaji consolidates Swarajya territory :

For the next six years (1650-1655), Shivaji did not disturb the Bijapur Government. But, till the release of Shahaji, he seemed to be engaged in consolidating and organising Swarajya territory acquired by him. During this period Shivaji made systematic attempts to win over the Maratha leaders like the Ghorpades, Mores, Shirkes, Nimbalkars, Jadhavs, Ghatges to espouse boldly the noble cause of a free Hindu State. But seven years later, he had increased and consolidated his power and felt that he had nothing to fear from Bijapur thereafter, as theAdilshahi Government was threatened with absorption of Bijapur into the Mughal empire by Prince Aurangzeb, the Mughal Governor of the Deccan.[17]

Shivaji decides to capture the Konkan :

In 1655 Shivaji thought of taking possession of the Konkan territory when he could bid defiance to the Bijapur king and the Mughal emperor. But all the passes between the Konkan and the plains below the hills were in the possession of the Mores of Javli. It was evident that whosoever possessed Javli, could fully master the district of Wai, the whole range of the Sahyadris and the seacoast running along it. There is little doubt that Shivaji was a pragmatic idealist and strategist. Shivaji sent emissaries to More with a request to join him in freeing the country from the yoke of the Muslims. The Mores turned a deaf ear.[18] Failing in his efforts of persuasion of the Mores, Shivaji thought it necessary to remove them from his path of expansion.

The Jagir of Javli was defended by ten to twelve thousands of troops. So Shivaji himself went against Javli with the troops of Deshmukhas and captured it on 31st December 1655. When Chandrarao More incharge of Javli lost Javli, he took shelter at Raigad where Shivaji besieged him.[19] The siege lasted for three months, and the More finally submitted through the mediation of Haibatrao Shilimkar. The whole principality of Javli was conquered.[20] Shivaji got immense wealth which the Mores had been piling up there for generations.

By the inclusion of Javli territory in his charge Shivaji became master of the hilly country of the Konkan. He also became master of

some of the invincible fortresses like Rairi or Raigad on the high peaks of the Sahyadris. Thereby he also controlled the mountain passes and thus the trade and traffic passing between the inland country, and the sea. His kingdom for the first time extended to the sea coast, so that he could make the town of Mahad its emporium and a naval base for the ship building industry.

Konkan under Bijapur :

Since 1637 the Bijapur State was the paramount power in the Konkan. Muhammad Adilshah died on 4th November 1656. The forts of Dabhol, Anjanvel, Ratnagiri and Rajapur with the districts depending upon them were held by the officers appointed by the crown. But the remainder of the Southern Konkan was farmed out to the hereditary Deshmukhs of whom the Sawants of Kudal were the Chiefs. The middle Konkan was divided into two Subhedaris; the first being Kalyan, extended from the Vaitarna to Nagothana under Mulla Ahmad; the rest down to the Savitri was put under the charge of the Sidis of Janjira. In this region, the latter held important forts of Tala and Ghosala. The Northern Konkan was in the hands of the Portuguese and the Mughals.[21]

The serious illness of Muhammad Adilshah, who died on 4th November 1656, kept Mulla Ahmed (the Subhedar of Kalyan), at Bijapur since 1646.

Aurangzeb invades Bijapur :

In 1656 Aurangzeb invaded Bijapur on the plea that Ali Adilshah II, was not a genuine prince of the royal house[22] and help of Shivaji was sought by both. Shivaji felt it more profitable to side with Bijapur and enrich himself. When in September 1656, the Bijapur Government made peace with Aurangzeb[23] Shivaji decided to conciliate the Mughals. His envoy, Raghunath Pant met Aurangzeb on 25th January 1658 and secured a letter of pardon for the Maratha Chief.[24]

Shivaji's regents to Aurangzeb for granting territory of Konkan to him:

Aurangzeb wrote to Shivaji, " though your offences do not deserve pardon, I forgive you as you have repented. You propose that, if you are granted all the villages belonging to your home together with the forts and territory of Konkan, after the imperialists have seized the old Nizamshahi territory now in the hands of the Adilshah, you will send Sona Pandit as your envoy to my court, and a contingent of 500 horse under one of your officers to serve under me and you will protect the imperial frontiers. You are called upon to send Sonaji and your prayers will be granted."[25]

Kalyan brought under Swarajya :

Shivaji saw that the city of Kalyan was without sufficient defence during the absence of its Governor Mulla Ahmad who had gone to Bijapur to attend the ailing monarch of Bijapur. He undertook expedition against the Portuguese at Kalyan and Bhivandi. He ordered two divisions to get ready. Dadaji Bapuji (a cousin of Samraj Pant Peshwa) was put in charge of one division. Dadaji Krishna Lohokare and his brother Sakhoji (the Karbharis of Kanhoji Nayak) were specially asked to proceed to Konkan with their strong Maval contingents. Abaji Sondeo with the help of Maval Shivaji succeeded in capturing Kalyan on 24th October 1657 and thereafter Bhivandi. They plundered the Portuguese possessions and established a post at Aseri Fort. The Portuguese agreed to pay Khandni and a quarter of gold every year.[25] The Muslim officers and forces were turned out, the places were garrisoned with Mawles. Dadaji Krishna Lohokare, a brave and experienced officer was put in charge of Kalyan and his brother Sekho Krishna Lohokare was put in charge of Bhivandi. They immediately began to make arrangements for the revenue settlement of the newly acquired province to consolidate their conquest.[27]

A Muslim woman was presented with a dress of honour :

Abaji Mahadeo was made Subhedar of the conquered territory. During the siege of Kalyan a beautiful daughter-in-law of the Muslim Governor fell into the hands of Abaji Mahadeo who presented her to Shivaji. Shivaji, in an open court appreciated her beauty with the remark that he would have been more handsome, if he had been born of such a lovely young mother. She was presented with a dress of honour and sent back to her parents at Bijapur, with all the due respect due to her rank.[28] This incident proved the high character of Shivaji.

Shivaji started ship building in Konkan :

The annexation of Kalyan gave Shivaji of iron weapons, rockets etc. which he distributed over several forts. Thereafter, Shivaji founded Sivapattan at the fort of Rajgad as well as strengthened the defence of Prabalgad (east of Panvel).[29] He also made Kalyan a naval base and built dockyards.[30] It is said that Shivaji also got a large buried treasure in the ruins of the fort on the Durgaid Hill which protects the port of Kalyan. Shivaji made use of this treasure in ship-building with the help of abundant teak wood available on the neighbouring hills.[31]

Shivaji's conquest of North Konkan :

On 8th January Shivaji captured Mahuli.[32] Then hill forts of Rajmachi and Lohgad were seized. This success made him an

undisputed master of the country from Poona to Thana at one stroke. Shivaji day by day increased in strength and reduced all the forts of the country and got firm footing in the North Konkan.[33]

The capture of Northern part of the Konkan brought to him plenty of wealth and merchandise.[34] His success in the Southern part of the modern Raigad District was still more easy on account of the help he received from the petty chieftains of the locality who were eager to free themselves from the Adilshahi yoke. He captured Surgad, Birwadi, Tala, Ghosalgad, Bhurap, Kangori and Raigad which later became his capital.[35] In short, a good part of the modern Thana and Raigad districts came under his sway. In this sweeping victory the greatest sufferer was the Sidi of Janjira, a vassal of Bijapur, who had been in possession of the Eastern part of Raigad district. Shivaji built new forts at Birwadi and Lingana. Kalyan and Bhivandi were turned into naval bases. Kalyan was also used for plundering the neighbouring territory of the Portuguese.

Shivaji's power increased in Konkan :

Bijapur noticed these activities of Shivaji with alarm. The Bijapur court was torn with dissensions and partisan activity was as its highest. On the other hand, Shivaj's power had greatly increased during recent years; popular report had raised the strength of Shivaji's Mavle infantry to 60,000. No commander of note was prepared to take commission against Shivaji. Ultimately AfzalKhan came forward to offer his services in a spirit of bravado.[36] He was murdered and his force, was routed by the Marathas under Shivaji's leadership. But in another encounter with Sidi and Fazalkhan, Shivaji had to give up fort Panhala to Bijapur. He had also to face Mughal Sardar Shaistakhan.

Invasion of Bijapuri Konkan by Shivaji :

The weak condition of Konkan drew Shivaji's attention to that region. Sending Netaji Palkar to act against the Mughals, himself invaded Bijapuri Konkan to "avenge the loss of Panhala."

Shivaji's dealings with English Factors on the Konkan Coast :

While conquering the Konkan Shivaji's men came upon Dabhol. There they noticed three loaded trading vessels belonging to Afzalkhan, who was murdered by Shivji. The Governor of Dabhol took away those ships quickly to Rajapur at the request of Fazlkhan, son of Afzal, and entrusted them to the possession of the English factors for safe custody, lest they would fall into Shivaji's hands.[37] Shivaji deputed his emissary to Rajapur to take possession of those enemy ships. The British would not give them over on the plea that

Fazlkhan owed them large amount, which they wanted to recover out of the merchandise in ships. At the arrival of Shivaji, Revington, the Chief of the factory, ran for safety out to the sea for fear of being seized. But the Marathas succeeded in seizing the goods and detaining the second officer Gifford (20th January 1660). At this stage Rustam-i-Zaman, Bijapuri Sardar, pleaded with Shivaji for restoring the goods and releasing Gifford. Shivaji agreed and the affair was for the moment closed.[38]

At the beginning of 1661 Kalyan District or North Konkan was invaded by the forces commissioned by Shaistakhan. A large part of the district was occupied by the Mughal force. They were soon beaten and compelled to withdraw from the Konkan. To complete the Mughal conquest of Konkan Shaistakhan chose a general Kar TalabKhan with heavy force.[39]

On 3rd February 1661 Shivaji surprised Kar TalabKhan, the Mughal officer, who had been commissioned by Shaistakhan to recapture Kalyan. While the Khan was descending from the Bhor Ghat, with his heavy artillery and baggage Shivaji pounced upon him and cutting off alike his retreat and advance, forced him to buy his escape with a ransom.[40]

Shivaji captures seacoast from Bassein to Rajapur :

With the capture of Thana and Raigad District, Shivaji got possession of the Seacoast from Bassein to Rajapur. He reduced several forts in this region among which was fort Prabalgad near Panvel, which was held by Bijapuri captain named Kesari Sinh, who lost his life in the encounter. Thereupon Shivaji personally went up the fort and discovered at a certain spot a hidden treasure in large vessels full of Mohars, hons and gold bars. When he came to know that Kesari Sinh's mother and two children were hiding he prostrated himself before her, gave her a palki to ride in and sent her to her native residence at Deulgaon under escort.[41]

Kalyan was recaptured by the Mughals :

In May 1661 Mughals first conquered Kalyan and then Mahad, the capital city of that region which they held for nine years. The fort of Deiri,[42] in the Pen Sub-divison was besieged by Muslim general named Bulaqi. But a Maratha relieving force under Kavji Kodhalkar drove him away after slaying 400 of his men (21st August 1661). In 1662, Shivaji led an attack on Pen but the Mughal defence was obstinate and Shivaji's forces suffered a heavy loss, in killed and wounded.[43]

Shivaji's march to South Konkan :

From the North Konkan district, Shivaji marched towards South Konkan. His march from Danda Rajapuri to Kharepatan was almost uninterrupted. The local Rajas and city Governors came to pay him obesience and respect. Nizampur (22 miles due East of Janjira) was raided and Dabhol was captured in February 1661. Jaswant Rao, the Raja of Pallivana fled in terror and took shelter with Surya Rao, the Raja of Prabhavali, with his seat at Shringarpur (8 miles North East of Sangameshwar). The Governor of Sangmeshwar also fled from his charge alongwith other well-to-do persons. The deserted town was placed under the charge o Pilaji Nilkanth and Tanaji Malusare.[44]

Shivaji himself marched for Rajapur by way of Chiplun. On the West coast of Konkan the English had a factory at Rajapur. The English merchants at Rajapur supplied mortars and shells to Sidi Jauhar for the reduction of Panhala fort. They were also seen helping the Bijapuris in the bombardment of the fort.[45] On surrendering Panhala to Bijapur, Shivaji took early steps to teach a lesson to the English at Rajapur for their active assistance to his enemies. Then the immense wealth of that place was the main object of attraction.

Shivaji gains plunder from Rajapur factory :

According to Shivabharat, Rajapur was a wealthy emporium, as the merchandise of Arabia, Persia, Egypt, Africa, China, Europe etc. was imported there for sale.[46] Shivaji suddenly appeared before Rajapur in the beginning of the year 1661. He had with him 1000 horse and about 3000 foot soldiers. His intention was to take possession of Rajapur. The citizens were called to make submission. Therefore, the principal inhabitants went to the place of meeting accompanied by the English Resident, Remington, with two or three other English men who thought it well to pay the mark of respect. They were all put under arrest and their property was seized. Revington and those who accompanied him were placed in the inland fort named Songur while the English men who had remained behind in Rajapur were likewise imprisoned. Their factory was entirely stripped. Even the floor was dug up in search of hidden treasure.[47]

Shivaji ransacked it and collected a large plunder from Rajapur and appointed his own administrators at the port, and also at Kharepatan about ten miles to the South.[48]

Shivaji wanted English help for capturing Danda Rajapuri :

The factory records state that Shivaji wanted help of the English in capturing castle at Danda Rajapuri from the Sidis. With this proposal Shivaji an deputed and envoy to the Chief of Rajapur factory who thought that if the castle were taken from the Sidi, all this country

would fall into Shivaji's hands. Shivaji's envoy promised the English a handsome seat called Meate Bunder if they assisted him in that business.[49]

Terms proposed by the English for assisting Shivaji :

1. " That Shivaji should grant the prisoners their liberty, and restore what has been taken from them (or at least their liberty).
2. That he should undertake to pay the charges of the English ships engaged in the reduction of Danda Rajapuri. If he does ask, the reply might be 10,000 pagodas for each of four ships. In that case 'we have another hope for to creep out at'. For we demand all the money beforehand, which he will never do.
3. That he should give the Company a convenient port town, with a liberty to build a fort, he should provide the labour and materials.
4. That, he should allow the English to receive half the customs revenue of that town, their own imports and exports being duty free.
5. That, he should consent to the establishment of a ' TANKSAL ' (mint) for a current coining of silver all over his country, and that no Mallabars shall be countenanced by him which we think fit to put in, because at Rajapur he told us he was a Mallabar himself, and has of them at command there as circumstances.
6. That, the English should be allowed to buy saltpetre freely.
7. That, a warehouse should be given to them in the port-town to be ceded. "[50]

These were the lines the English proposed to go upon in any conference with Shivaji. They also requested the Surat authorities to write to him to the same effect. The English were knowing that Shivaji, a perfidious man himself, would not agree to release the English prisoners on promise of help. Therefore they suggested to Surat factory that Shivaji be threatened by the idea that if they were not released the English would transport Mughal army into the Deccan.[51] Shivaji did not take any cognisance of their plea and sent them as captive to Songad fort. The four Englishmen were treated but their captivity was prolonged past endurance.[52]

The English at Rajapur surrenders Shivaji :

Shivaji took particular care to lookafter the factors in confinement who were taken prisoners in the siege of Rajapur. They requested their President at Surat to intercede with Shivaji, pay the fine and obtain their release. But the President refused to interfere in this affair as it had originated from their own unwarranted behaviour.

However, after the death of Revington at Surat in 1662 Raoji Pandit carried the captives to Rajapur where they were released. After this, the English factors resumed their trade at Rajapur. Writer in that factory informed the Surat President that " Shivaji's raid on Rajapur cost it in plunder the amount of 24,000 Hons, the death of two persons and the detention of the factors for two years."[53] The English factors long continued to press Shivaji for reparation of the damage but he declined.[54]

Shivaji's reconceliation with Bijapur :

By the mediation of Shahaji (his father), Shivaji had come to terms with his nominal overlord, the king of Bijapur, with the result that Rajapur, amongst other districts, had been recognised as part of his territories. The Bijapur Government granted all Shivaji's demands in 1662. He was left in possession of his conquests from Kalyan in the North to Phonda in the South, and from Dabhol in the West to Indapur in the East and his complete independence was acknowledged. Shivaji took a Solemn oath not to molest Bijapur during Shahaji's lifetime.[55]

Simultaneously Shivaji brought under his control the whole West Coast of Konkan from Bassein to Malvan together, with the inland territory stretching up to the Sahyandris.[56]

Conquest of Kudal :

The province of Kudal was a part of Konkan. The province of Kudal and the five parganas of Dicholi, Phonda, Pedne, Sankli and Maneri constituted the State of Sawantwadi. Kudal was subdivided into twelve districts and each part was governed by the Desai.

Lakham Sawant who was called Desai of Sawantwadi, was descended from the same Bhosla branch of the Marathas to which Shivaji belonged. Circumstances had forded him to enter into alliance with Shivaji who confirmed him as Sardesai of Kudal in the year 1650 A.D. However, he waverd in his allegiance and several times proved to be his overload. To punish this faithless ally Shivaji came down to Kudal and made Lakham Sawant captive. Thereafter, negotiations went on after which Lakham Sawant was released. He also brought Sawantwadi under his control. A treaty of friendship was concluded between Shivaji and Sawants on 5th March 1659.[57]

The terms of the treaty were as follows :

1. The Sawants should be confirmed in their possessions. They should give half the revenue to Shivaji and keep the other half to themselves. But with this income 3,000 men were to be recruited in the infantry. Whenever the Raja would need

their services these men should be sent. Even the Sawants should themselves attend whenever their presence was required by the Raja.

2. The fort and territory of Phonda be given over to the Raja, but the Sawants should help to defend the same whenever necessity arose. In an expedition against Bednur, the Sawants would have to go for assisting in it's conquest.
3. They should keep themselves in touch with Shivaji through their Vakil; and fight against the Turks (Muslims) for the establishment of Swarajya.
4. The officers of the Raja (Shivaji) would, from time to time, visit the territory for the assessment of revenue. These should be assisted in their work according to the orders of the Suzerain.
5. The Lordship of territory, the Jagirs (Watans) and the title of ' Bahadur ' are confirmed forever. The forts, the Kots and the Thanas are to remain in the possession of Sawants, but the officers of the Raja should also remain there.

This treaty of five articles was signed on 5th Marth 1659. This treaty shows that the country of Sawants was to be administered in the name of and for the benefit of Shivaji.[58]

Pitambar Shenavi, the envoy of Sawant, played a major part in concluding the treaty of friendship between Shivaji and Sawant. During these negotiations Shivaji visited Kudal where he purchased a fine European Sword for 300 hons and named it the ' Bhawani '. He successfully used it in many an encounter. Accourding to Sardesai it is still in the possession of his descendants at Satara.[59]

Shivaji captures Vengurla and allows Dutch factories to stay on :

Early in 1663 the Shah of Bijapur started on an expedition, determined particularly to recover the territories of South Konkan from Shivaji. The presence of Adilshah cowed the Sawant as well as the Dutch factors of Vengurla and the Portuguese of Goa. When Shivaji came to know Adilshah's aggression, he entered Konkan region by way of Kolhapur and Kudal and reached Vengurla in Many 1663.[60] His army of 4,000 horsemen and 10,000 footmen created great fear and panic among the inhabitants of Vengurla and Kudal.[61] Lakham Sawant sent his envoy to the Dutch at Vengurla with a proposal that the inhabitants of Vengurla, and the Dutch Governor should take shelter at Wadi. The Dutch factory Resident rejected this proposal, considering this treacherous scheme to murder him.[62] The Dutch sent one letter to Shivaji congratulating him on his new

acquisition and some costly presents.[63] Thereupon, Shivaji gave letter of freedom for the merchants of Vengurla.[64]

The Adilshah could not bear this direct affront to his power. He determined to recover Kudal from Shivaji and ordered Ikhlas Khan to march against Shivaji. He also asked his minister Khawaskhan to help Ikhlas Khan in this endeavour. Baji Ghorpade of Mudhol also was ordered to proceed against Kudal.[65]

Baji Ghorpade was killed & Maratha authority on Konkan was established :

Adilshah's plans came to a head during the autumn of 1664. Shivaji prepared himself. He thought of dismembering Ghorpade of Mudhol by attacking him suddenly at Mudhol. A fierce battle took place in which Baji Ghorpade and several of his followers lost their lives. Shivaji then plundered Mudhol. Shivaji immediately afterwards turned to Khawas Khan. The first encounter between them took place in October 1664. During four hours everything seemed to go in favour of the Marathas. Prominent among those who were killed were Hadrat shah, Sidi Sarwar and Shaikh Miran. The day was however, saved for the Bijapuris by the interruption of Khawaskhan. Shivaji left the field after losing 400 killed and 1,000 wounded.[66] Shivaji withdrew from the field in pursuance of some plan. His plan was to attack Khawaskhan at Kudal from all sides. On the advice from Lakham Sawant Khawaskhan shifted in haste to Banda where he was attacked by Netaji Palkar. He untimately fled to Chandragarh in the Balaghat leaving Lakham Sawant and other Bijapuri Vassals to save themselves as best as they could.[67]

Lakham Sawant, the double dealer, became the target of Shivaji's wrath. He lost his accumulated treasure and territory and took shelter in the nearby forests. His territory and office was transfered to his Kinsman and rival, Krishna Sawant by victorious Shivaji.[68]

The English merchants describe Shivaji's achievements as follows :

" Deccan and all the South coast are all embroiled in civil wars, king against king and country against country, and Shivaji reigns victoriously and uncontrolled, that he is a terror to all the kings and princes round about, daily increasing in strength."[69]

Shivaji routed Khawaskhan and established Maratha authority over the Konkan. Shivaji appointed Krishna Sawant as Deshmukh of Kudal on 11th November 1664.[70]

Sindhudurg Fort built :

In 1664 Shivaji built sea fortress, Sindhudurga. In the Shivaji

Chronicle by Chitragupta, it is stated that " a hundred skilled workmen who knew about construction of sea forts were called for from the Portuguese " for the purpose.[71] The fort was constructed on the rocky inland six cosses in length and breadth and about ten to twenty cubits above the sea level at that place a fort was built and it was, called Malwan (Sindhudurg).[72]

Sidis of Janjira and the Marathas in Konkan :

An Abyssinian family settled in the 15th century on the Konkan coast. Under the Sultans of Ahmednagar, one of them secured the Government of Danda Rajapuri.

The Sidi, Chief of Janjira, maintained an efficient fleet and throughout the 17th century he was officially recognised as the admiral, at first of Bijapur and later of the Mughal empire. There was no native power on the West Coast that could make a stand against him at sea.[73]

To the owner of the Konkan it was essential to render the Sidi powerless or to make him an ally. Shivaji, in his efforts to conquer Konkan, came across the Sidi of Danda Rajapuri. Realising that powerful Sidi with well equipped Naval fleet could not be defeated by him alone, Shivaji thought of getting assistance from the imprisoned English men at Rajapur. He promised them a seat called Meet Bunder if the English helped Shivaji against Rajapuri. But the English did not agree; so Shivaji during the monsoon of 1661 attacked Danda Rajapuri and captured it. He then started the siege of the island fort of Janjira; but he failed to make any impression on the citadel for want of guns and artillery men. The Chief of Janjira was so hard pressed by the losses inflicted upon him by Shivaji that he requested the authorities of Bombay to render him help. The Sidis[74] request was complied with by the English and attack of Shivaji was repulsed.

Invasion of Konkan by Shivaji :

Revdanda and Rajapuri forts were in the possession of the Sidi. His fleet in the sea consisted of forty to fifty ships (Gurabs) and with it he plundered territories, obtained maintenance and preserved his lands. The Sidi began to molest the territory of Shivaji. So Shivaji sent a force of two thousand Mawles under his General Baji Pasalkar, and built sea going ships also. At this time Ali Adilshah-II opened a campaign against Shivaji with the help of the Sidi. In this invasion of Konkan Kay Sawant, a loyal vassal of Bijapur, cooperated with the Sidi. In a battle both the Sawant and Baji Pasalkar, (Shivaji's General) fell dead. Their respective armies thereupon retired each to its own place.

DandaRajapuri was captured by the Marathas :

To retrieve the position Shivaji next sent a larger force, five to seven thousand strong, under Raghunath Ballal Atre who beat the Sidi forces, captured Tala, Ghosala, and other forts, and wrested the sea coast upto Danda. The Marathas contined the campaign even during monsoon and after a long siege captured the fort of Danda and following up their success opened batteries against Janjira itself. But their attempt was defeated. Hopless of relief from Bijapur, the Sidi signed a treaty with Shivaji and formally ceded Dandarajapuri. The Sidi could not reconcile with the loss. So hostilities soon broke out again. The Sidis resumed their depredations on the coast, while the Marathas fired upon Janjira every year during the dry season, without being able to take that island fortress. Shivaji organised his conquered territory on the coast into a province and placed it under an able viceroy Vyankoji Dutto with a permanent contingent of 5 to 7,000 men.[75]

Activities of the subhedar of Konkan :

Vyankaji Dutto, the Subhedar of Konkan province defeated the Sidis in a great land battle and totally excluded them from the mainland. He also improved the defences of Dandarajapuri by fortifying in a hill that commanded it. He also built new forts of Birwadi and Lingana which effectuallty prevented Sidi's depredations in that quarter. The Sidis had no alternative but to live on by piracing which he exercised on the sea coast villages in the Ratnagiri District. To defeat Sidi's cause of piracy Shivaji thought of building a strong navy and set up fortified bases along the coast.

The Portuguese were continually sending help to the Marathas against the Sidis. So in the beginning of the 1661, there was an attempt on the part of English to capture Janjira.[76]

Maratha attacks on Janjira :

Since then both the parties were on the war path. The hostile armies made alomost daily inroads into each others countries and warfare closed the roads to all peaceful traffic. Shivaji attacked Janjira with great vigour in 1669 October. The Sidi was so much hard-pressed and Janjira was in so much in danger of being starved in to surrender that he sought the help of the English at Bombay.[77] The next year the contest came to a crisis. Shivaji staked all his resources on the capture of Janjira. Fatah Khan wanted to submit to Shivaji but there was a strong opposition in his court. They applied to Adilshah and the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan for aid. The Mughals readily agreed and the Sidi fleet was transferred from the overlord ship of Bijapur

to that of Delhi and Sidi Sambal, one of the leaders of the revolution, was appointed imperial admiral with a Mansab and a Jagir yielding 3 lakhs of rupees. The Sidi fleet was taken into Mughal service on the same terms as under Bijapur. The general title of Yakub Khan was conferred on successive Sidi admirals from this time onwards and the Government of Janjira was placed under another Sidi. The other Sidi captains preserved the distinct command over their own crews and dependents and an aristocratical council determined the general welfare of the singular republic."

Shivaji prepares for the seige of Janjira :

This revolution at Janjira took place in February 1671. Shortly before that, in November 1670 Shivaji collected at Nangaon 10 miles North of Janjira 160 small vessels, 10,000 horses and 20,000 soldiers with full provisions for a seige. Large number of mining tools such as pick axes, shovels and crowbars were with him. The fleet left Nandgaon on 24th November and came to Mahim on 26th November.[78] Maratha army marched in the same direction by land but on the 26th he suddenly turned back and recalled his fleet. Thereafter he suddenly invaded Khandesh and Berar. He looted these provinces far and wide. During his absence on this raid, his fleet passed by Daman and his admiral had captured a large ship of that place, worth Rs. 12,000, bound for Surat. The Portuguese retaliated by capturing twelve of his ships. They pursued but the Maratha fleet escaped to Dabhol[79] Sidi Qasim the new Governor of Janjira was very brave and cunning. He increased his fleet and war material, strengthened his force and was cruising at sea. He used to wear armour day and night and often seized enemy ships. He used to cut off hair of the captives. He recovered Danda from the Marathas while the Marathas were engaged in celebrating the spring carnival (Holi). Qasim arrived at the pier with 40 ships and Sidi Khariyat from a land side came with 500 men. On seeing Khariyat the Maratha garrison rushed at his direction to repel him. When Qasim found them engaged like this he seized the opportunity to scale the sea-wall. Some of his officers were hurled into the sea. Some were slain but the rest forced their way into the fort. Just then the powder magazine exploded, killing the Maratha commandant and several of his men.[80]

Dandarajapuri was recaptured by the Siddis :

Qasim went ahead slaying and binding the enemy to the centre of the fort. Here he joined hands with Khariyat's party who defeated the Marathas and conquered the fort. At that time the Marathas were engaged in the Nasik and Baglan districts where the Mughal Viceroy

was pressing them hard. Qasim seeing the opportunity of the absence of the Marathas, captured seven other forts in the neighbourhood of Danda.[81] Six of the Killedars got frightened and surrendered to Qasim. The seventh gave tough fight to Qasim for a week but came to terms on assuring safety of his life as well as lives of his kith and kin. On receiving possession of the fort Qasim became faithless. He converted handsome women and boys to Islam, dismissed useless and old women and put to death all the men of the garrison.[82]

The capture of Dandarajapuri by the Sidis was a disaster to the Marathas. Politically it was necessary for Shivaji to reconquer Danda. The Marathas incessantly fought for Dandarajapuri from the time of Shivaji to Rajaram but the fort remained in the possession of the Sidi. In an attempt to recover the fort the Marathas used to blockade the Abyssinian State. The economic loss was more keenly felt by that State than the Marathas. At times, the Sidis begged for peace but did not accept Marathas terms for ceding their territory.

The English refuses to help Shivaji :

In September 1671, Shivaji thought of getting help from the English and send his envoy to Bombay to secure the aid in an attack on Danda. But the President and Council of Surat advised the Bombay factors " not to positively promise him the grenades, mortar pieces and ammunition he desires, nor to absolutely deny him, in regard we do not think it convenient to help him against Danda which place if it were in his possession would prove a great annoyance to the port of Bombay "[83]

An attempt to recapture Dandarajapuri by the Marathas :

In May 1671, Shivaji besieged Dandarajapuri. The position of the Sidi had much worsened. The Sidi requested the Portuguese at Chaul to help him with money and ammunition. The Portuguese Viceroy asked the captain of Chaul to supply money and instructed that ammunition should be secretly given to the Sidi as he thought that if Dandarajapuri were captured by Shivaji, not only would Revdanda and Korlai (Morro) be endangered, but the whole Western coast. The importance of this place was recognised by the Portuguese statesmen right from the days of Afonso De Albuquerque.[84]

Naval War (1672-1675) between Sidi & the Marathas in Konkan :

In 1672, after the overthrow of FatehKhan, Sidi Sambal became admiral. He was an enterprising person, for he was continually engaged in warfare with the Marathas and burnt several houses in Mazgaon. In the same year Sidi Sambal died and was succeeded by

Sidi Yakutkhan who was equally energetic. He was continually interfering with Maratha shipping and in October 1672 anchored with a fleet off Bombay and begged of the President his permission to enter the harbour in order to ravage the districts of Panvel, Pen and Alibag which belonged to Shivaji. The permission was refused by the President.[85]

Aurangzeb helps the Sidis :

Although the English refused to help the Sidis, Aurangzeb came to the rescue of the Sidi. He sent a fleet of 36 vessels, great and small from Surat to assist the Sidi of Dandarajapuri by causing diversion by Sea.[86] The Mughal squadron burnt and plundered all sea ports in the possession of Shivaji by destroying his 500 trading boats.[87]

The Dutch promises to help Shivaji against Sidi :

After its successful campaign against the Marathas, the Mughal fleet visited Bomaby for help against the Marathas. But the English refused to get charred in the dispute between the Marathas and Mughal. However, the Dutch commodore promised Shivaji help of the entire Dutch fleet of 22 ships in retaking Dandarajapuri on condition that Shivaji would lend 3,000 of his soldiers for a Dutch attempt to conquer Bombay. Shivaji, however, did not trust the Dutch and continued to remain friendly with the English.[88]

Sidi was punished for his terrorist activitis :

On the 10th October 1673, Sidi Sambal with his fleet entered the Bombay harbour without seeking permission from the English and laid Waste the Pen and Nagothana rivers in the Kurla region belonging to Shivaji.[89]

Sidi Sambal caused much unnecessary bloodshed and brought with him to Bombay a number of men, women and children from Kurla who had been made slaves. The merchants were also disturbed to some extent. So the President expressed his indignation to Sidi. Inspite of the president's indignation the Sidi renewed his terrorist activities in Kurla till one hundred of Sidi's men were surprised and cut to pieces without mercy by the troops of Shivaji which had arrived from Raigad.[90] It seems that after this event Sidi was quiet.

War between Shivaji and Sidi :

In February 1674, a war took place between Shivaji and Sidi till both of them became weary. So the Sidi requested the English President at Surat to mediate peace between them.[91]

In March 1674, Shivaji's admiral Daulatkhan was attacked by Sidi Sambal in the Muchkundi creek in the Ratnagiri District. Both the admirals were wounded. The Sidi lost 100 men, wheareas the

Marathas lost 44 men. The Marathas became victorious. So Sidi Sambal withdrew to Harishwar, a port 21 miles South of Janjira.[92]

Except Dandarajapuri Shivaji conqured South Konkan :

In May (1674) Shivaji resolved to capture Dandarajapuri at any cost. He started daily sending down more artillery, ammunition, men and money to strengthen his siege-troops. During this year he reduced the whole coast of South Konkan from Rajaputi to Bardes, North of Goa, but not the fort of Dandarajapuri. By the end of 1672 he had already spent a vast treasure and 15,000 soldiers in his futile attacks on Janjira.[93]

Shivaji did not rest. In September 1675 he contemplated to attack the fort of Dandarajapuri by land and Sea. He increased his fleet. In November, the Sidi had reinforcements in his fleet and sailed down the coast to Vengurla, plundering and burning that town. Maratha warships from Vijaydurg and Rajapur took to the sea, seeking a fight, but the Sidi escaped to Janjira.[94]

Henry Oxinden, a British envoy to the Marathas established good relations with Shivaji. Due to his efforts the English and Shivaji had arrived at a settlement of their differences and Oxinden offered to bring about peace between Shivaji and the Sidis.[95]

Sidi got help from the Mughals & the English :

But his efforts proved abortive. In September 1674 Aurangzeb had returned from the Indus to Delhi as the Afgan war (1675) was in its last stages. He urged his General Bahadurkhan to proceed without delay against Shivaji.[96] He also supplied the Sidi two hundred fighting men, provisions and ammunition, several frigates and two large warships.[97] At the same time, the English were helping the Sidis of Dandarajapuri still at war with Shivaji on condition that none of his people would encroach on the rights of the British or plunder or disturb in the least any boat or vessel from Underi, Khanderi and Chaul.[98] It was in the middle of November (1675) that the Sidi intended to be on the look out for Shivaji's fleet, hoping to destroy it in the port. But they were disappointed. At this time, Sidi Sambal had to face some difficulties due to internal dissentions. Sidi Sambal who was anchoring at the Bomaby port in April 1676 was superseded as commander of the Sidi's fleet by Sidi Kasim and in July 1676 the whole of the Sidi fleet under the command of Sidi Kasim came to Bombay.[99]

Sidi Kasim was received by the English with respect and allowed to stay at Mazgaon with his vessels. They continued to reside there till the middle of August when Moropant Pingle, Prime Minister

of Shivaji, came down the Ghats with 10,000 men to renew his attack on Janjira. To face this attack Sidi Kasim went to Janjira with 300 men and managed to destory the floating batteries of Moropant Pingale, and compelled him to retire to Raigad.[100]

Meanwhile, Aurangzeb gave orders from Delhi to hand over the Mughal fleet to Sidi Kasim. Thereupon Sidi Sambal promised to carry out this order. Towards the end of April 1677, the fleet of Sidi Kasim and Sidi Sambal arrived from Janjira in Bombay.[101]

The first intimation which the English received from Shivaji during that year was threatening message concerning the Sidi's atrocities which he had perpetrated on the inhabitants of the opposite shore. This was done because of instigation to Sidi Sambal by a wicked resident of the opposite shore. The wicked Brahmin was supplied with money for hiring a boat and a party of men. On receiving help from Sidi four Brahmins were kidnapped and transported to the Sidi's ships and kept in close confinement. When the English found Sidi's complicity in transaction, the boats crew were imprisoned, three of their number were hanged, and others sent to St. Helena.[102]

Shivaji gets control of the islands of Henry and Khanderi :

In November 1677 Sidi Kasim, in his capacity as commander of the fleet, continued cruising along the shore of Konkan, making frequent landings and kidnapping the people. All of them (including the Brahmin prisoners) were forced to do menial services. At the end of April 1678 he returned to Bombay to rest during the monsoons. Shivaji avenged the humiliation on his subjects by deputing his admirals Daulatkhan and Daryasarang with 4000 men to Panvel with orders to cross the creek and burn the Sidi fleet then anchored at Mazgaon in Bombay island. But due to unfavourable weather Daulatkhan could not cross the creek. So he retired to Raigad. Sidi Kasim sent his boats and plundered the Alibag coast.

In October 1678, Shivaji was furiously playing his batteries upon Janjira, while Sidi Kasim, being unable to pay his men at Surat, was compelled to continue his stay in the Bombay harbour.[103]

For seven years Shivaji had been making efforts to increase his fleet so as to be a match for the Sidis and by this time he gathered 20 masted ghurabs and 40 gallivats. On the high seas, these vessels could not give a very good account of themselves against the great ships of the fleet of Sidi Kasim.[104]

Shivaji was of the opinion that his repeated failure to capture Janjira and the Sidi's attack on his territory was due to the shelter given by the English to the Sidis in the Bomaby harbour. Therefore,

he resolved to compel the English to adhere to stricter form of neutrality. He then got control of the islands of Henry and Khanderi as a convenient place for striking at the Sidis.[105] The presence of the Marathas at Khanderi was in every way undesirable for the English, particularly for those at Bombay, for no ship could enter or leave from Bombay harbour without being seen from Khanderi. Thereupon, the English became aware of the impending danger. So the English decided to help the Sidis to check Shivaji. Sidi Kasim was equally anxious to preserve his stronghold at Jangira. He also got necessary help from the English to equip his fleet.[106]

Sidi Kasim brought his force consisting of two large ships, three frigates of masts, fifteen stout gallivats and 700 excellent soldiers at the Bombay harbour and proposed to the English a combined assault on Khanderi to eject the Marathas. The English suspected the design of the Sidis to keep the island for themselves and hence they evaded giving assistance to the Sidis. Sidi Kasim was not disappointed because the English did not render him assistance. From his two ships Sidi Kasim directed for several days a cannoade against the island of Khanderi. The fire was returned by the Marathas but no appreciable effect was produced, by either side or the other. This was the state of affairs between the English, Shivaji and the Sidis at the end of the year 1679.

Shivaji realises the importance of the navy and the forts :

Before Shivaji, Konkan was under Bijapur Sultanate and the sea side was under the control of the Portuguese. By now Shivaji realised the importance of building up navy. Therefore, after gaining the town of Kalyan and Bhivandi (1658) Shivaji started building ships of his own in the creek below them. Soon after his conquest of the Konkan, Shivaji found it necessary to build up and equip his navy strong enough to check the raids of the Sidi's fleet on his coast. In his view without the command of the coastal waters his inland territories could not be protected nor the economic prosperity of his subjects assured.[107]

Importance of naval forts to Shivaji

As stated by Nairne the great forts both on the coasts of Konkan and inland are entirely associated with Shivaji.[108] Some of them are naval forts. The forts on the coast were meant for the navy and they had naval bases for the safe anchorage of ships. They were well equipped with water tanks, store houses, powder magazines etc. and were well armed and garrisoned. With the help of naval forts Shivaji built up a fine navy. During the time of naval battles, they supplied

war requirements and they were places of refuge to the navy. The ships, anchored in the bay of the forts were safe from enemy attack in naval engagements. The forts played a significant role in the effective control of the mastery of the sea around them. The gun and artillery mounted on the forts could repulse the enemy ships from entering the sea or the river on which they stood.

With regard to other forts, there is scarcely an instance of one of these standing on level and open ground. They are all built on some natural post of advantage.

The construction of all the forts is on the same principles. The whole top of the hill or the end of the promontory is surrounded by a wall relieved by numerous bastions. There is seldom more than one entrance to the fort and this is generally the strongest part and the most noticeable.

Finally there are noticeable features of Shivaj's forts such as a small shrine with an image of Hanuman, the monkey God, standing just inside the main gate.[109]

Before Shivaji, the Portuguese built a number of naval forts on the Konkan coast. The credit of constructing the forts of Bassein, Bombay, Asheri, Manora and Chaul goes to the Portruguese. Shivaji rebuilt a naval fort of Vijaydurg popularly known as Gheria in 1653. An island fortress of Suvarnadurg was also constructed by Shivaji.

To the South-west of Alibag, about a furlong from the shore, is the low fortified fort of Kolaba. It is mentioned as one of Shivaji's forts.[110] When the whole of the Konkan South of Kalyan came into the possession of Shivaji in 1662, he rebuilt and strengthened Kolaba for defence.[111] He made the harbour one of the chief naval stations. He gave the command of his fleet to Daryasarang and Maynak Bhandari under whom Kolaba became a naval Centre. To put a stop to the ravages of Maratha fleet, the Portuguese sent an ambassador to Shivaji who promised to refrain from molesting their ships if he was supplied with guns and war stores. To this the Portuguese agreed.[112]

In Kolaba District along with a number of important places Shivaji seized Chaul, an ancient port on the coast of Kolaba. The fort of Chaul was constructed by the Portuguese in 1521. The fort was surrounded by a wall with nine bastions and enough fortifications. Thevenot describes "Chaul as very hard to enter but very safe, sheltered from every kind of weather.[113] The town was preety and was defended by a strong citadel on the top of the hill. By 1672 Shivaji's troops utterly ruined Musalman Chaul and finally took

possession of it.[114] The fort Ghosalgad, six miles South of Roha, was captured by Shivaji along with Javali from More. When all efforts proved abortive to capture fort Janjira by assult from the Sidi, Shivaji fortified Khanderi and built a fort on it. It was a strong fort on the sea shore constructed by Shivaji. In Khalapur Peta of the present Raigad district, there is a Prabal fort situated on the flat-topped hill of the same name.[115] It is eight miles, East of Panval and four miles West of Matheran. It stands about 2,325 feet above sea level. It is belived that Shivaji found substantial treasure in the fort when he captured the fort from the Mughals.[116] The celebrated fort of Raigad became capital of Maratha kingdom in 1674. In June 1674 Shivaji was crowned with much spendour at Raigad. It stands 2,851 feet above the sea, sixteen miles North of Mahad in Raigad district.

Forts in Ratnagiri District are either situated in the interior or on the coast. The costal forts are of two classes, island and healand forts. Of island forts, the chief are the Harnai fort of Suvarnadurg and Sindhudurg fort of Malvan. Shivaji reparied the naval fort of Suvarnadurg in 1660. Vijaydurg, popularly known as Gheria, is the most perfect example of a great coastal fortress, which was also a palace or a residence of a chief. It stands on the piece of land projecting into the broad estuary of river Vaghotan.[117] It had a ditch extended across the spit of land. The outer walls are washed by the sea round the greatest part of their extent. The walls are immensely massive and lofty, and thus "Looking up from the landing place a triple line of most formidable defences is seen. On one side a great round tower rises from the highest part of the main wall. From it the view is lovely and varied. In front the open sea, one side the broad estuary, and on the other a little cove of white sand bounded by black rocky promontories. Behind, the river stretches away to the blue line of the Western Ghats.[118] The river runs paralleled to the sea and the mouth forms a haven. The ships moved in the river were concealed from the open sea. The heavier ships of the European nations, even if they chased the Maratha fleet, could not follow them up the river.[119]

The most striking example of Shivaji's island fortress is of Suvarnadurg or Songad. It has lofty walls risen straight out of the sea. It stands on a low irregular island with an area of eight acres. Great part of the fortifications are cut out of solid rock and the rest are built of blocks of stone of ten or twelve feet square. There is enough water for a large garrison.[120]

Of headland forts, most of them are on the banks of rivers. Out of these the major ports are Bankot, Anjanvel or Gopalgad, Govalkot,

Jaygad, Ratnagiri, Purnagad, Satvli, Rajapur, Jaitpur, Vijaydurg, Kharepatan, Devgad, Bhagwantgad, Ramgad, Sidhgad, Nivti, Vengurla and Redi.[121] The sites of a few of these, such as Anjanvel or Gopalgad, Jaygad and Rajapur are very litle raised above sea level. Inland forts, all the same in character, are built on some natural site of advantage. If on the coast, on a cliff or a spit of land more than half surrounded by the sea, if in the low country, on some steep hill commanding a river or pass, if on the Ghats, on some projecting spur or rock or above a great natural scarp. All are built on the same principle.[122]

The age of most forts is difficult to fix. Some are said to have been built by Bhoj Raja of Parnala at the end of the twelfth century.[123] But the most are repaired and strengthened in the 17th century by Shivaji.[124]

Shivaji, more than any other ruler, attached great importance to the forts. "Every pass was commanded by forts and in the closed lefiles, every steep and over having rock was held as a station from which to roll great masses of stores, a most effectual annoyance to the labouring march of cavalry, elephants and carriages. It is said that he left 350 of these posts in the Konkan alone.[125]

Sindhudurg of Malwan :

Shivaji himself built a sea fort of Sindhudurg on a low island about a mile from the shore of Malwan. This was Shivaji's fortress and coast capital. It is less striking but more extensive than Suvarnadurg, measuring about two miles around the ramparts. The walls are 29 to 30 feet high and about 12 feet thick, strengthened with 32 towers. The site of the fort was selected by Shivaji himself and he is said to have worked with his own hands for its construction. Here are shown the prints of his hands and feet on a stone slab, head in reverence and protected by a small dome.[126]

Shivaji's navy played an important role on the Konkan coast. He made a separate department called Subha Armar. Soon after his conquest of the Konkan, Shivaji found it necessary to organise a navy strong enough to check up the raids of the Sidi's fleet on his coast. The main strength of the Maratha fleet consisted in the gallivats and the gurabs as well as many river crafts of various descriptions.

Sabhasad tells us that no less than four hundred Gurabs, Tarandes, Tarus, Gallivats, Shibads and Pagars were built and organised into two squadrons of 200 vessels.[127] Each squadron was placed under the supreme command of an admiral Darya Sarang, a Muhammadan officer and Mai-Naik, a Bhandari. In all probability Shivaji's men of war did not exceed 200 in number, but he had a

large mercantile navy. Besides doing the police work against the Sidi's pirate fleet, Shivaj's navy was also employed in taking possession of foreign vessels wrecked on the Konkan coast and collecting duties from trading ships.[128]

On his return from Agra, Shivaji directed his energies to consolidate his power in the Konkan and to effect a revenues settlement there.[129] He informed the Emperor that he escaped from his confinement for fear of his life, that he had no illwill towards him personally, and that he was still ready to serve the Emperor as he had stipulated.[130] The veteran Jaisingh, the Subhedar of Deccan was recailed by the Emperor. On his way to Delhi Jaisingh died at Burhanpur on 2.7.1667.[131] His place in the Deccan was taken by the easygoing prince Muazzam. Muazzam and his capable assistant Dilir Khan were not on good terms. This gave a golden opportunity to Shivaji to recover his lost dominion. Shivaji had already written to the Deccan Subhedar Jaishingh, " If through your intercession I am pardoned, I shall send my son Sambha to wait on the prince and serve at the head of my followers wherever required.[132] Muazzam on his resuming at Aurangabad as a Subhedar of the Deccan welcomed Shivaji's offer to serve the emperor, knowing well that it was not possible to crush him. Aurangzeb was also compelled by the force of circumstances to acquiesce in a truce with he Marathas negotiated by Muazzam. A letter of Prince Muazzam dated 6th March 1668, informed Shivaji that the emperor had conferred on him the title of Rajah and that his other demands were under consideration.[133] Thus the truce was concluded by the Mughals with Shivaji which lasted two years (from 4th November 1667 to December 1669) and by which Shivaji secured Emperor's blessings for his new acquisition in Konkan.

In September 1667 a treaty of agreement was concluded between Shivaji and the Adilshah. Thus by his peculiar method of securing substantial interests Shivaji became de-facto ruler of Konkan. His relations with Bijapur also remained pacific.

The Coronation of Shivaji :

Konkan witnessed the coronation of Shivaji at Raigad in 1674. According to Shivdigvijaya, the coronation was necessitated by the attitude of some old Maratha Sardars like Shirke, Mohite and Mahadik who refused to sit below Shivaji even in his court claiming equality in rank and family honour from old customs. It was Balaji Avaji who had advised the ceremonial coronation.[134]

Most of the Maratha nobles had the long established traditions of being addressed as ' Rajas ', but this did not mean actual kingship. The coronation ceremony had not been celebrated since the days of the ancient Guptas.

Shivaji had conquered many lands and gathered much wealth. He defeated four Patshahs and had strong army and navy and exercised powers of life and death over men, like an independent sovereign.[135] But in the view of the Mughal emperor, he was a mere robber. To Adilshah he was a son of Vassal Jagirdar. The rise of Bhonsles created jealousy among the other Maratha families which had once been their equal in several ways. These men refused to respect Shivaji as their master.[136] So Shivaji decided to get himself crowned.

It was decided to perform the coronation in a grand manner. As such preparations were taken in hand. For coronation, Raigad Fort, near Mahad in the Konkan was selected.[137] Shivaji had not only loved the Raigad Fort but had selected if for its impregnability. So the ceremony was arranged there and new palaces and halls were built on it. Many noble guests and eleven thousand Brahmins came in advance for the ceremony and they were well looked after. Gaga Bhatt, insisted on Shivaji getting himself crowned according Vedic rites.[138] The Ceremony was performed for seven days during which Shivaji had to go through many rites.

Several nobles, kings and ambassadors came to Raigad. Among them were Henry Oxenden, representing the East India Company. The Portuguese ambassador and the Dutch representative were also present.

There were four Brahmans who had seen and heard of some of the necessary performances, and they were asked to bring together their several knowledge of the ceremony and to counsel how to prepare for it. But they pointed out the great name of Gaga Bhatta who was at Kashi, a Brahman of very great attainments. He was well versed in the Vedas therefore it was pointed out to the Raja that if the preparations were made according to his directions, there would be none to object to the ceremony. The Raja was also advised by his consel that somebody should be sent to Gaga Bhatta to obtain from him the Sastrik injunctions and that it would be well to get the ceremony performed by him. The Raja was highly pleased. He directed Ramchandra Babaji to go to meet Gaga Bhatta at Kashi with his letters and explain his mission.[139] Accordingly Ramchandra Babaji went to Kashi and met Gaga Bhatta and delivered Shivaji's letter.

Thereupon, the Bhatta consulted several Brahmans of the place, great and small and came to the conclusion that only the Kshatriyas were entitled to Chhatra and Sinhasan; the Sudras were not. But Gaga Bhatta was convinced that he who has power becomes king, Gaga Bhatta agreed to lead the coronation ceremony.[140]

Gaga Bhatta came to Maharashtra and in consultations with all ministers and elders fixed the coronation day on Jestha Suddha Trayodashi, Shake 1596.[141] Raje visited Bhawani Temple at Pratapgad and other temples and Shrines in his territory. This was a very old custom. The day before the coronation, Shivaji spent the time in fasting, prayers and meditation. He rose early next morning and had a ceremonial bath. Then he offered his respect to Jijabai and other elders and sought their blessings. Two important coronation rituals are the Abhishek and Chatradharan. Shivaji was dressed in white robes for the Abhishek and his queen Soyarabai had her saree knotted to his robe as they do at marriage ceremonies. They sat side by side on two 'Pats' or low stools and Sambhaji sat close behind them for the rituals called Aindrishanti.[142] Shivaji's council of eight ministers led by the Chief Minister Moropant Pingale and others representing the four castes, namely Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras, stood around them holding golden, silver, brass and earthen jugs respectively, filled with sacred water of the Ganga and other holy rivers. The priests chanted Mantras and Pancharati was performed by the sixteen Suvasinis.[143]

For the coronation proper Shivaji was dressed in rich, red robes. They were embroidered with gold and he wore a turben with strings of pearls on it. There were precious jewels in his ears and round his neck.[144] He once more bowed before the priests and the mother Jijabai who blessed her successful son and shed tears of joy.[145]

The coronation hall was bedecked in rich velvet, brocade and pearls. Its walls were covered with sacred Vedic signs and symbols. The throne was covered with sacred Vedic signs and symbols. The throne was covered with gold plate inlaid with costly gems. The palace gates and grounds were decorated with green Banana and Mango leaves. Two ceremonial horses and two richly decorated elephants stood guard at the gates while the Shahnai, Nagara and other musical instruments were played for the occasion.[146]

Guns fired :

As Shivaji mounted the throne, guns were fired from all his forts for salute to the new king. Gaga Bhatta came forward with the

royal umbrella, made of brocade and decorated with pearls. He held it over Shivaji's head and the people held him as king. The coronation ritual was over. To his nobles, officials and followers Shivaji gave traditional Indian titles in place of the Persian ones which they had used upto then.[147]

After that Chhatrapati Shivaji mounted his horse and went in procession to the Jagadishwar Temple in Raigad fort. From there he mounted his elephant and rode in state through the streets of the fort while the people hailed him as king.[148] Thus, the Jagirdar of Pune became an independent king known as Chhatrapati of Hindavi Swarajya.

Shivaji's coronation in 1674 was considered a great event all over Maharashtra. The English envoy-Oxendon,[149] the interpreter of the English - Narayan Shenvi, and Dutch merchant of Vengurla, Abraham le Feber, have left descriptions of this event.

After the coronation, Shivaji captured Fonda fort on 17th April 1675 by fixing a mine; then in the next month, he captured Shiveshwar and Ankola in Karwar and returned to Raigad. In 1677 Shivaji went to Bhaganagar and met the Qutub Shah.[150] He did not return to Konkan till April 1678, and in the meantime Annaji Datto, the Pant Sachiv, was left in charge of the Konkan from Kalyan to Fonda. He appointed officers to every district and made a survey and assessment of land on fair and equitable principles.[151] In the absence of Shivaji the usual operations on the coast were continued. In 1677-78, the Sidi's fleet plundered the coast as usual.[152] In revenge for this, Shivaji sent down ships and men to Panvel in order to burn the Mussalman fleets then in Bombay.[153]

Thereafter, Shivaji built a fort at Khanderi in 1679. The presence of Marathas as Khanderi was in every way undesirable for the English. In order to dislodge the Marathas from Khanderi, the English opened fire. Thus, the battle with the English was fought on 18th October, 1679.[154] The Sidi occupied Underi in January 1680. The English made a treaty with Shivaji in the same month.[155] This is the last event of Shivaji's life in Konkan. He died at Raigad on April 3, 1680. His revenue system was a great improvement than the one previously known in the Konkan. The cultivators were protected and all classes of the population had the opportunity of entering and rising in the military service.[156] Shivaji, with the help of his navalships, brought the Western coast under his control. So he was called the Sea King. He constructed and repaired coastal forts. Therefore he became known as king of the forts. He had his capital in the Konkan due to which he was called king of the Konkan.

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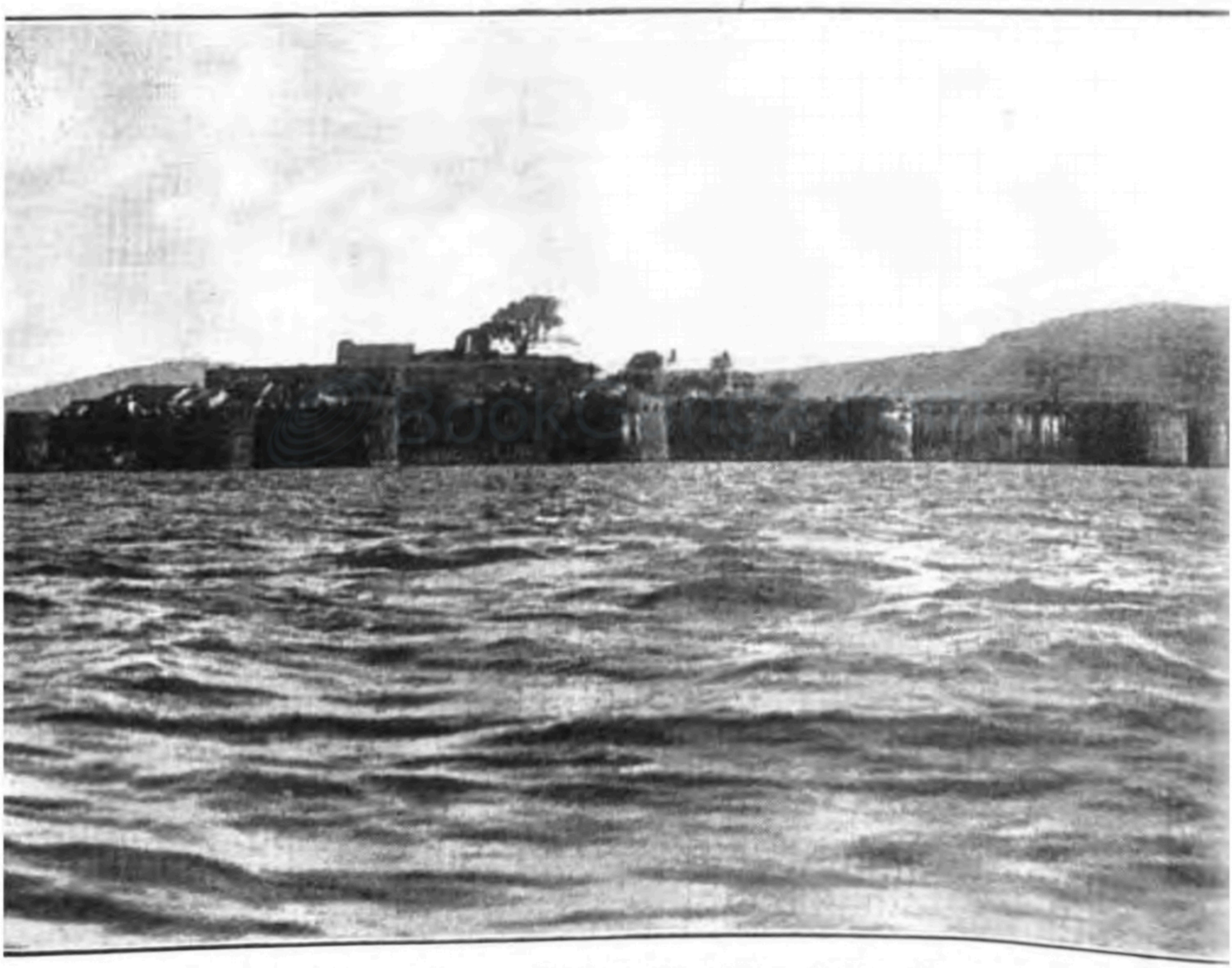

Sea view of the Castle of Janjira

Chapter - IV

KONKAN A BATTLEFIELD FOR THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE MARATHAS AND THE MUGHALS (1680-1707)

Konkan A battlefield for the struggle between the Marathas and the Mughals (1680-1707) :

As Konkan witnessed the coronation of Shivaji the great at Raigad, it also witnessed the sad demise of the great Maratha king at Raigad on Sunday, 15th Chaitra in 1602 of the Salivahan Shaka era[1] (3rd April 1680 A.D.). Then the king's body was cremated with sandal wood and Bellwood at Raigad. Everybody lamented the loss. It was then settled that the funeral rites should be performed by the younger son, Rajaram. Accordingly he performed the rites. It was also declared by Moropant Pingle, the Peshwa of Shivaji[2], that Rajaram had succeeded to the throne of Shivaji and that Sambhaji would be imprisoned.[3]

Soon after the announcement, Peshwa Moropant Pingle, Annaji Datto and others left Raigad to proceed against Sambhaji, on 16th May, 1680. In their absence the supporters of Sambhaji tried to bring Raigad under their control by creating some trouble there. But the supporters of Rajaram seemed to have arrested them and defeated their attempt.[4]

But Peshwa Moropant Pingle and Annaji Datto were captured by Senapati Hambirrao Mohite. He disarmed them and sent them in chain to Sambhaji.[5] Sambhaji confined them at Panhala under a rigorous watch. Sambhaji then marched on Raigad with a force of twenty thousand men and got possession of the capital on 18th June and formally ascended the throne on 20th July after putting Rajaram and Soyarabai, his stepmother in close confinement.[6] Sambhaji also appointed new Subhedar at Rajapur in Konkan.[7]

As a token of gratitude for this easy success, Sambhaji immediately made a formal grant to his family Goddess Bhavani of ten thousand gold Hons a year.[8] The formal ceremony of Coronation was performed on 10th January 1681. The disturbed atmosphere of

Maharashtra in general and Konkan in particular soon assumed its normal peaceful tenor.[9]

After becoming the Chhatrapati, Sambaji made some changes in the administrative structure. Although he released Moropant Pingle on the occasion of the Manchakarohan ceremony,[10] he got the work of Peshwa done through Mutalik (Deputy) of Moropant up to the time of his death in October 1680. After the death of Peshwa Morapant Pingle, Sambhaji gave the post of the Peshwa to Moropant's son, Nilopant, by setting him free from the confinement.[11] He also released Annaji Datto and instead of restoring him to his previous position of the Sachiv (Finance Minister), gave him the post of the Amatya or the Mujumdar (Revenue Minister).[12] Sambhaji continued Pralhad Niraji in the post of Nyayadhish (the Chief Judge), which he had held under Chhatrapati Shivaji.[13] The post of Panditrao (Minister for Religion) was held by Moreswar Raghunath since 1672 under Shivaji. Chhatrapati Sambhaji continued him in the same post.[14] Hambirrao Mohite, the Senapati or Sarnobat (Commander-in-Chief) of Chharapati Shivaji who became the benefactor of Sambhaji was continued by him in that post.[15]

Akbar's flight to Sambhaji in Konkan :

Akbar, the son of Emperor Aurangzeb, fled with Durgadas Rathod of Rajputana to Deccan to take shelter underSambhaji.[16] Prince Akbar addressed two letters to Sambhaji requesting him to cooperate in his rebellion against the Emperor.[17] Akbar then arrived on 1st June 1681, at Pali near Nagothana, 25 miles North of Raigad in North Konkan.[18] Here on 13th Nov. 1681, Sambhaji received him and his forces with great respect and made all arrangements for their maintenance. He provided them with a reasonably big building for accommodation at village Pali. On account of Shahjada's residence, the village came to be named as Padshahpur.[19] Chhatrapati Sambhaji succumbed to the advice of Kavi Kalash and gave asylum to Akbar. This action of Sambhaji prompted Aurangzeb to come down to the Deccan to punish Akbar and Sambhaji. Before visiting Akbar, Sambhaji had to face a situation that was created by his ministers. Some of Sambhaji's officers (ministers) quarreled with him- They signed a treasonable letter against their prince, in which they promised to join prince Akbar, to whom the letter was sent. On the advice of Durgadas Rathod, Akbar gave that letter to Sambhaji in order to prove the fidelity and gratitude towards him.[20] The conspirators also tried to poison Sambhaji at Panhala, at that time.[21] The conspirators involved in these attempts against Sambhaji, were Annaji Datto, Balaji

Avaji Prabhu, Somaji Datto, Hiroji Farjand and Soyarabai, the mother of prince Rajaram. There were as many as 22 more persons involved in that conspiracy.[22] The conspirators were arrested by Sambhaji before 30th August, 1681.[23] He then put Annaji Datto, Balaji Avaji Prabhu, Somaji Datto and Hiroji Farjand to death.[24]

It appears that due to her involvement in that plot Soyarabai, the mother of prince Rajaram, felt ashamed of herself and she committed suicide by hanging herself to death.[25]

After putting down the conspiracies against him, Sambhaji visited Akbar at Padshahpur (Dhondase) on 13th November 1681. Sambhaji once again visited Akbar with Kavi Kalash at Gajapur.[26] Thereafter, they sent off Akbar to some unknown place and Sambhaji returned to Raigad.[27] Thus Sambhaji antagonised Aurangzeb by giving asylum to Akbar. So in order to put down the combination of Akbar and Sambhaji, Aurangzeb dispatched his force to Deccan and himself reached Burhanpur on 13th November 1681.[28] All the military resources of the Mughal empire were concentrated by him in the Deccan. Soon after his arrival at Burhanpur, Aurangzeb sent Hasan Ali Khan with 14,000 troops to campaign in Konkan against Sambhaji.[29] Hasan Ali Khan, with great difficulties descended into the Konkan, but he could not get provisions due to the absence of communication between him and the main base of the Mughal operations at Junnar.[30]

Before facing the Mughal operations, Sambhaji had to face the Sidis of Janjira. The Sidi sent his small vessels from Underi into Bomaby harbour and pillaged the South shore of Bombay harbour and offered the captives for sale in Bombay.[31] The English protested against this act of the Sidi and set free about twenty one of these unfortunate people.[32] The English could not hurt the Sidi as he was the officer of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, who would deny them the facilities of free trade in the Mughal empire. As a result, when the English accommodated Si 'is on the island of Bombay, the Sidis used that, as a facility to continue their antagonism against the Marathas by attacking their territory. To stop Sidi's menace, Sambhaji tried to burn Sidi's ships and landed two hundred men on Underi. But the attempt failed and most of the men were killed or taken prisoners.[33]

At the close of the year 1680 the Sidi's fleet sailed down the coast, intending to attack Vengurla,[34] but after various chases and fights, he returned in 1681 to Bombay. From Underi the Sidi attacked several times the Bombay boats crossing for supplies to the Kolaba

coast. Not a single year elapsed without frequent skirmishes among the Sidis, the English and Marathas; and the year 1681 was no exception to the rule. Both the Sidis and the Marathas were guilty for gross outrages. Sambhaji was so distrustful of the English that he stopped supplying Bombay with grains from his territories.[35] The Portuguese also found the opportunity to annoy the English so that in Bombay the prices of the provisions were tripled.[36] The Marathas burnt the houses of the Portuguese on hearing that the Portuguese at Daman killed some of Sambhaji's men.[37] In December 1681, the Sidi looted and burnt the towns of Apta and Negothana belonging to the Marathas.[38] These activities of the Sidis at Janjira very much annoyed Sambhaji. Therefore, to put an end to the menace of the Sidis, he decided to conquer the fort of Janjira by deceit. Sambhaji deputed one Kondaji Farjand to secure employment with the Sidis. He succeeded in that and started staying with his family in the fort of Janjira. But his evil design against the Sidis was detected and the Sidis put many of them to death.[39]

As he became unsuccessful in capturing the fortess of Janjira by deceit, Sambhaji sent one general Dadaji Raghunath Deshpande, to besiege the fort. Later on, Sambhaji with Prince Akbar and 20000 men, joined the besieging force from Raigad. These troops were bombarding the walls of the fortress of Janjira for a period of fifteen days. As a result, when these walls showed signs of cracking down, the Sides took shelter behind the rocks of the hills of Janjira on 3rd January, 1682. From 3rd January to February 1682,[40] Sambhaji exerted heavy pressure upon the Sidis and the Marathas were in a position to capture Janjira. At that moment Sambhaji was required to withdraw himself from the siege of Janjira by leaving the task of capturing it to his general as he was required to combat against the Mughal Army under Hasan Ali Khan who was advancing from the Ghat in Konkan[41] which we have already mentioned earlier. Sambhaji, thereafter, thought of a great plan. He set 50,000 men to work to fill up the channel (800 yards broad and 30 yards deep) with stones or timber and bags of cotton and thus form a causeway for his assaulting parties.[42] But the arrival of the Mughal force of 2,000 horse and 15,000 foot under Nawab Hassan Ali Khan[43]on 4th February 1682 and also capture of Kalyan by the Mughals on 30th January 1683 forced him to return to Raigad, leaving the siege-operations to be carried on by Dadaji Prabhu Deshpande of Mahad. While the siege was going on, the Sidis' ships arrived in Bombay in May 1682. Sambhaji ordered his fleet at Khanderi to plunder every vessel entering into the port.[44]

Sir Jadunath describes the presence of a large Maratha fleet in Bombay thus; "May 1682-85 gallivats were lying in the rivers opposite Bombay with almost about 5000 soldiers on board... his total naval strength being 120 gallivats and 15 ghurabs."[45]

The factors reported that between November 1681 and July 1682, damages to the extent of Rs. 4500 were inflicted by Sambhaji's gallivants operating from Khanderi.[46] In retaliation, the Sidis of Janjira attacked Kurla and cut off the noses of several inhabitants in August 1682.[47] An encounter between the Maratha and the Sidi fleet took place in October 1682. Sidi Misri, who had joined the Marathas during the time of Shivaji and became the Naval Commander of the Marathas fought the naval battle with the Sidis.

Most of Sambhaji's fleet fled immediately, leaving their Commander in the enemy's hands.... Sidi Misri who was wounded died of his wounds the same day.[48] Dadaji Prabhu Deshpande, who was entrusted to carry on the siege operations, was promised the post of Amatya on the capture of Janjira.[49] The fleet under DaulatKhan, Mainaik, Kavji Mahmud and Govind Kanho helped Dadaji Prabhu in this siege.[50]

This attempt of Dadaji Prabhu to capture Janjira by assault proved to be a failure.[51] On this, Dadaji Prabhu withdrew this forces. The Sidi advanced in the interior of the Maratha territory, attacked Mahad, captured the wife and family of Dadaji and carried them to Janjira.[52] In order to counteract the Sidi's stronghold of Janjira, Sambhaji sent a Subhedar to Anjadiva, to fortify it as a naval base in the beginning of 1682.[53] On hearing this the Portuguese landed 200 men on Anjadiva ousted the Marathas and fortified it on 11th April 1682.[54]

An English man, one captain Richard Keigwin, brought about a revolution in Bombay by besieging the fort of Bombay from East India Company's Governor and established his authority in the name of Charles II, the king of England. On hearing this news, the Mughal general who had imprisoned an ambassador of Sambhaji, and who was intending to cut off his head, suspended the execution and sent the prisoner to Captain Richard Keigwin. Thereupon, the captain safely sent him to Sambhaji. It seems that this friendly act helped to improve the relations between Sambhaji and the English.[55]

In April 1684, when Sidi Qassim arrived Bombay to berth his fleet as usual, he was informed by Captain Richard Keigwin that he could have only water from the island and no shelter. Thereupon, Sidi Qassim withdrew. The Sidis could no longer use Bombay as the

base of operations against the Maratha possessions on the mainland.[56] The Policy of Richard Keigwin against the Sidi's led to the betterment of relations between Sambhaji and the English. Keigwin sent Capt. Henry Gary and Lt. Wilkins as envoys to Sambhaji to settle the outstanding differences and conclude peace with him.[57] In an agreement concluded between Sambhaji and the English. Clause No. 27 explicitly stated; " That it is being proposed to the English that they have a difference with the Sidi and if occasion should happen I should assist them, that which I promise to do.[58]

It appears that the hostilities between Sambhaji and the Sidi were renewed in the year 1686. We have the following account in the Marathi documents; Chhatrapati Shivaji had some ailment which was cured by Pilaji Tabib of Chaul. Shviaji honoured Pillaji with a Palanquin and ordered the Subhedar of Chaul to run administration of the province in consultation with Pilaji. During the reign of Sambhaji, Balaji, the son of Pilaji was in correspondence with Sambhaji. During his meeting with Sambhaji, Balaji assured that he would capture Underi from the Sidis, with the help of Mai Naik Bhandari. Balaji was successful in placing the ladders at the fortifications of Underi. However, the Killedar noticed that and the plan was frustrated. When the Sidis came to know that Balaji was the mastermind of the plan, he attacked Chaul, captured Balaji with his family and converted them to Islam.[59]

The English have recorded that the Sidis had besieged a small fort called Cullane at the mouth of the Nagon River, which if captured, Khanderi would be in the danger of falling in his hands.[60] However the Sidi raised the siege of Cullane to pursue Prince Akber.[61]

A little later, the Sidis asked the English to help him in transporting a big gun, which they had seized from one of the forts of Sambhaji. The Deputy Governor of Bombay evaded the issue and asked the Surat authorities for their advice.[62] The English further asked the authorities at Surat for advice regarding Sambhaji, as Underi was in the danger of being lost to the Sidis.[63] At the same time it appears that some negotiations were going on with the Marathas. Sambhaji's Peshwas had despatched a letter to the English to send a boat to meet them.[64] The English entered into a treaty with Sambhaji by which they later agreed to give to the English Rs. 50,000 and 2,000 Khandis of rice on the condition that they protected the creeks and the mouths of the river along with the Maratha coast.[65]

J. Child, Governor of Bombay, noted that Sambhaji was losing against the Mughals.[66] On 9th January, 1688, Child informed the Directors that his endevaours in dealing with Sambhaji did not have the desired effect.[67]

Marathas and Mughals in Konkan (1681-1684) :

The first attempt of the Mughals to penetrate into the Konkan was made in January 1682. Aurangzeb, before coming down to the Deccan, got acquainted with the topography of the Deccan through his officer Abu Muhamad. He learnt from Abu Muhamad that there existed 360 ghats and passes in the Swarajya territory and out of those 65 were such that through them elephants and camels could pass; whereas the remaining passes were narrow which were in Konkan.[68] Thereafter, Aurangzeb arranged a three-pronged attack on Sambhaji. In Konkan, Shahabuddin was asked to proceed from Kalyan in the North, Prince Muazzam, marching from Belgaum across Ram Sejghat and joining hands with the Portuguese at Goa, thus blockaded Sambhaji from the South. At the same time, Azam Shah distracted the attention of Sambhaji by carrying on a foraging campaign into Baglan. The Sidi was expected, all the while to cut off the supplies and prevent companies of soldiers from reaching Sambhaji's forces which were thus to be trapped from all sides.[69]

Geographically, Konkan occupies a very strategic position, from where, the Marathas were able to move into the Northern and Southern parts of the Deccan, without much interruption. The military movements of the Marathas in the 17th century from Konkan into the parts of the Deccan illustrate the point very convincingly. Shivaji's possession of Konkan remained unchallenged till his death in 1680. Therefore the Maratha statesmen always tried to retain the control of the Konkan.

In Konkan, the regions which were held by Sambhaji in 1680 were Ramnagar, Jawhar, Kalyan, Bhivandi, Chaul, Dabhol, Rajapur and in the extreme South Kudal, Bhimgadh, Phonda and Ankole.

Aurangzeb wanted to dislodge the Marathas from Konkan whereas Sambhaji wanted to conduct war operations in the Mughal territory. Strategy and the numerous forces used by Aurangzeb in attacking Sambhaji did not allow Sambhaji to realise his plan of attacking the Mughal forces in this territory.

The TalKonkan territory was of importance for the movements of Sambhaji's troops against the Mughals. Therefore, he took steps to prevent the entry of the Mughal in that area.[70] Sambhaji's troops

only carried out the customary raids into Mughal territory wherever they could, every year after Dasara, but these sporadic activities were mechanical and did not lead to any extension of his state, nor even its strength.

On the contrary we notice the Mughal struggle for occupation of Konkan, both North and South. This was essential for restricting the movements of the Marathas, who were using Konkan as a spring-board for their aggression in the Bijapuri and the Mughal territories.

We have already dealt with the first attempt of the Mughals to penetrate into the Konkan in January 1682 with a dispatch of twenty thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot soldiers under Hasan Ali Khan,[71] son of Ali Wardi Khan, who was a servant in the court of Jahangir. He was told to look after administration of the Konkan and to admonish the Marathas.[72] He descended the Naneghat and reached Kalyan at the end of January 1682. While passing through the ghat, Hasan Ali burnt some Maratha villages.[73] On 24th February RanMastkhan also reached Kalyan.[74] They ravaged the country.[75] At the end of September, Aurangzeb asked Ranmastkhan to go to Ahmednagar in order to punish the Marathas in that sector. After the rainy season, in the month of September, Aurangzeb heard from Sidi Yaqut Khan, Kiledar of Dandarajapuri that Sambhaji had already embarked on the defence of Konkan. He had also started recruiting men in that region. His intention was to blockade the passage of the Mughal forces into the Talkonkan. He had issued orders to his various officers and men to close the passes to the Mughals.[76] He drew attention of all his officers on various posts in Talkonkan to the impending danger of the Mughal attack and put them on alert.[77] By October, all the roads to Konkan were closed and no Mughal officer was allowed to pass by these roads. Aurangzeb ordered Bahadur and others to march to the valley of Talkonkan on 28th September 1682.[78]

In the month of October, Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur was asked to march against the Marathas in Konkan. But he declined and got himself excused. Later on Aurangzeb conferred the title of Bahadur Khan on Rammastkhan and asked him to proceed to TalKonkan.[79] This was his second assignment in TalKonkan against the Marathas in a short period of six months. He complained to Aurangzeb about the unsatisfactory condition of the army and acute shortage of food grains. The salary of the soldiers was in arrears and there was none to give them any financial assistance.[80] However, it seems that he left for TalKonkan. He mustered about nine thousand-foot soldiers in a short time. Another two thousand soldiers of Kanhoji joined him.

Bahadur Khan Panni got into Konkan via the hill of Mohaje.[81] But when the news of the Marathas causing havoc in the area of Nasik reached him, he instantly moved towards that region.[82] In November 1682, the Mughal General Shihabaddin left his bag and baggage at Junnar and attacked the TalKonkan. He looted twenty Maratha villages, killed four hundred persons, arrested one thousand men and captured 4,000 animals.[83] Further with the help of a certain local Zamindar who was well acquainted with the territory of the Marathas, he invaded other villages and played havoc in the region. As a reward of this bravery, he was awarded a special robe by Aurangzeb.[84]

We have already mentioned that in April 1682 Hasan Ali Khan was deputed to Kalyan-Bhivandi area by giving a command of 15000 troops. In November, a Maratha force consisting of six to seven thousand cavalry and infantry men repaired a small fortress near Kalyan-Bhivandi and established a post there. On 28th November, Bahadur Khan fought a battle and defeated them.[85] The Mughal activity of warfare in that area was much encouraged in November 1682, when the Mughal general Ranmastkhan occupied Kalyan.[86] Sambhaji then sent Rupaji Bhosle, Kesopant and Nilopant Peshwa against him.[87] A severe battle was fought. The town of Mehendali, which was five miles from Kalyan-Bhivandi, was attacked and looted by 2000 Maratha troops. The Mughal & MukarrabKhan fought a severe engagement against them near Uran, a village to a distance of thirty miles from Mehendali. In that engagement many soldiers from both the sides were killed and some were wounded. After that engagement, to MukarrabKhan camped at Mehendali.[88]

From Kalyan-Bhivandi sector Bahadur Khan marched towards Bitanga fort and burnt the wadi of fort.[89] Shortly after this battle the Maratha army made two more night attacks on Ranmast Khan's army. The Mughals offered strong resistance. They defeated the Marathas.[90] Seeing Bahadur Khan in the Kalyan-Bhivandi area, Sambhaji sent 7000 Maratha troops to check his advance. Bahadur Khan defeated those troops. He then repaired the defence wall which was around Kalyan. Bahadur Khan also defeated 10,000 cavalry and 12,000 infantry soldiers of the Marathas when they attacked him. After that Bhadur Khan marched towards the Maratha fortress of Bitinga and set fire to a village near it.[91]

During the last week of December 1682, Sambhaji deputed his Commander Tukoji who arrived at a distance of eight miles from Kalyan-Bhivandi. He dug up trenches. Immediately Ranmastkhan, Sidi Yaqut Khan and his maternal-uncle who were engaged in bringing

the food grains, marched out to meet the enemy. Others were left behind at Kalyan-Bhivandi. Daud Khan, Abul Faizyaz Khan, etc., of the Mughal army were divided into three divisions in order to face the Marathas. In the initial stage the two sides fought from a distance using arrows, bows and mustkets. Finally an assault with swords and spears was made. Tukoji and many others were killed. The Marathas then retreated to the nearby mountains.[92]

In January, 1683, the Mughal generals, Ranmast Khan and Bahadur Khan were at the Mughal military base of operations at Kalyan-Bhivandi. They were continuously attacked by the Maratha troops. Therefore, Ruhullah Khan sent Yashwant Rao, a Mughal officer for their help.[93]

At this time the Mughal army in Kalyan-Bhivandi sector felt the need of grains and other supplies. Sidi Yaqut Khan, the Commander of the Mughal navy was asked to supply them. This was done by the Sidi as the Portuguese of Goa had given the Mughals facility to carry them in their ships between Thana and Kalyan. The Portuguese gesture of giving the safe passage to the Mughals was considered as inimical posture of the Portuguese towards the Marathas. Therefore, to impede the movements of the Mughal ships to Kalyan and Bhivandi the Marathas started building a fort at Parsik. When the Portuguese came to know this, they took possession of the site and built a fort of their own there. This is an index of the Portuguese attitude to the Mughals.[94]

In the first quarter of January, 1683, the Marathas surprisingly attacked Bahadur Khan thrice at Kalyan. But he managed to defeat them; he repaired Kalyan-Bhivandi forts and according to the Emperor's orders engaged 2000 cavalry troops at Kalyan.[95]

In order to prevent the ships carrying provisions from Surat to Bahadur Khan at Kalyan, the Marahtas captured two forts of the Portuguese in the territory of Thana and Bassein. Sidi Yaqut Khan was dispatched against them by Aurangzeb. After sometime, Bahadur Khan joined the Sidi. Both of them marched against the Marathas. They captured one of the two forts mentioned above after a stiff battle from the Marathas and demolished it and came back to Kalyan.[96] To help Bahadur Khan Aurangzeb dispatched Ruhulla Khan with troops in February 1683.[97] Accordingly, Ruhulla Khan joined Bahadur Khan on 1st March 1685.[98]

At that time the Maratha force was at a distance of 120 cos. the Mughal force marched by gallap and cut the distance of 80 cos. On 17th March 1683 the news was dispatched to the Mughal Emperor

from the Mughal camp at TalKonkan that they were at a distance of 4 cos from the Marathas and were confident of covering the distance soon.[99] The Mughal Emperor also got advice from the local resident not to halt at Kalyan in the rainy season as the moisture weather would kill the horses.[100] He was advised to encamp at Menvali.[101]

In the beginning of March 1683 a Maratha general by name Vithoji blocked the passage of the Mughal army in Konkan with the help of 4000 horse and foot. The Mughal commander deputed Padam Singh Harawat against them. In an engagement, the Mughals defeated the Marathas and killed 400 Maratha soldiers. But the Marathas killed Mughal Mansabdar by name Gotmaji Dakhani. The Portuguese helped the Mughals in that engagement.[102]

After that Hambirrao Mohite, the Commander-in-chief of Sambhaji marched against the Mughals in Kalyan-Bhivandi sector with 20,000 horse and 10,000 infantry. He was attacked by Bahadur Khan on 10th March 1683. The battle was fiercely fought; many Maratha soldiers were killed. Hambirrao was wounded by an arrow. His wife's brother and three Maratha Commanders were killed in that engagement.[103] On the Mugal side Padmasingh who received 35 wounds was killed.[104] Bhagwat Singh, son of Mankoji Dakhani was killed. Ram Singh, son of Ratansingh Rathod, after hearing the news of Padam Singh's death wanted to go to the battle-field in spite of his sickness, but he became very weak due to fever and after preparation he collapsed and died. Hari Singh, son of Puramal Bundela who was wounded, was left behind on the battlefield and the Marathas carried him away. He died on the way. Raghunath Singh, Kabul Singth, Madhoram Sisodia and Tukoji and other Mughal soldiers were wounded.[105]

Though the Marathas displayed great strength and valour the fort remained with the Mughals. In the Akhbarat of 4th April 1683, there is a long list of dead and wounded. On the Mughal side, the Mughal commanders - Padma Singh, Bhagwat Singh Khan, Kasim Khan, Navarish Khan, Azmatullah Khan, Sayyid Abdul Hadi, Sayyid Murtaza, Muhammad Yar, Ibrahim Beg, Muatasim Beg, Sayyid Bahadur, Kwaza Muhammad Salih, Sayyid Yusuf, Saikh Farid Valad Hamid Khan, Mir Muhammad Valad Multafit Khan, Bhagwant Sing, Valad Ramsingh, ShyamSingh, Raja Duga Singh, Sayyid Abush-Shukur, Sayyid Nasib, Sayyid Mujahid, Sayyid Jalal, Sayyid Ghayat, Nasir Beg, Humayun Ali and Farhad Beg were killed in that battle. In addition to the above, the following Mughal Mansabdars were wounded in that battle - Vasantrao, Niwasrao Dwarkaji, Chhatrasal

Valad Ratan Rathod, Basantrao, Sundardas Udit Singh, Bhojraj Kalyanrao, Dilirkhan, Akram Khan, Kwaja Muhammad Adil, Sayyid Nuruddin, Abdul Kadir Haji Burhan, Haji Abdulah Beg, Aiwaji Beg, Badi-uz-zaman, Mir Khalan and some of the relatives of Kasim Khan and Khwaja Yakub.[106] Though the fort remained with the Mughals, the battle created sufficient terror among the Mughals. Thereafter, the Marathas became so active that they gathered a force to attack the Mughals in the area of Kalyan-Bhivandi. When they reached a distance of 14 miles from Kalyan-Bhivandi around 6th April 1683 Saifulla Khan, son of Ruhullah Khan, ran and attacked them. The Marathas could not stand the attack. They ran away leaving there bag and baggage in the nearby forest. They also set fire to 2/3 of nearby villages.[107] By now Sambhaji intensified the blockade of Kalyan-Bhivandi. So the Mughal general Rohillah Khan was ordered to enter in Kalyan-Bhivandi area from Kulwan (in the Paud valley near Kalyan). Ranmasta Khan came to the ghat, Rupaji Bhosle attacked him near Titwala (4 1/4 miles to the North East of Kalyan). In the fierce battle, the Marathas slew many Mughal commanders.[108]

Due to the effective resistance of the Marathas the Mughals were compelled to approach the English for rescue.[109] They also could not make any effective advance in the Kalyan-Bhivandi sector up to August 1683.[110]

Mughal Penetration into the South Konkan :

After the rainy season of 1683, the Mughal offensive in the South Konkan was reopened.[111] On 15th September 1683, Shah Alam Bahadur started in the direction of Konkan and Ramdurg* which is in the Taluka of Konkan and was then in the possession of Sambhaji and is at a distance of 30 Cos from the fort of Panhala. His intention was to reach the seacoast, the forts of which area were in possession of the Marathas and to capture the same to introduce peace and order there and to build thanas there.[112] It was now for the second time but the Mughal armies were marching into Konkan. Aurangzeb also deputed Ahish Khan, the chief of artillery, Sarfraz Khan, Ikhlas Khan, brother of Bahlul Khan, Khwaja Mukarram and an army of twenty thousand men.[113] The Mughal army managed to conquer few cities and forts of the Marathas inspite of stiff opposition of the Marathas. After that Shah Alam crossed the Ramghat and came to Sawantwadi. His march was opposed bravely by the Marathas. The roads were narrow and the front guards of Shah Alam's army had a tough time facing the Marathas. Many people died on both the sides.[114]

Khafi Khan gives a graphic account of the expendition as follows :

" The territory was full of thorny trees and dense jungles. On one side there were high mountains and on the other side were deep valleys. Many infidels were put to death. Khwaja Abul Mukarram and other Sardars showed considerable valour. But the food and climate was unsuitable for the Mughal army. Even animals like horses and camels could not survive. In this campaign many men and animals perished. No horses were left in the army. The infidels blockaded the roads from all sides, supplies were stopped. The condition of the army became precarious and it became difficult for the Prince to stay there. At last, he requested Aurangzeb for permission to withdraw."[115]

On 15th January 1684, Shah Alam arrived at Dicholim on his way back. From there he proceeded to Vengurla and on 20th February he went to Malwan and from there returned to the bank of Bardesh river, which is to the North of the city of Goa, in order to establish contact with his provision vessels as his army had started suffering from shortage of food.[116] By May 1684, the Sidi of Janjira sent him provisions. Shah Alam set out on his return march according to the orders of Aurangzeb.[117]

Once again Prince Muazzam informed the Emperor that the horses and other animals of transport, in his army, were dying because of bad climate of the Konkan and that the dearth and shortage of food grain had reached its climax.[118] So on 20th April 1684 Ranadullah Khan with fresh army was appointed to reinforce Shah Alam and bring him back safely.[119]

Thus came to an end for the time being the Mughal offensive against the Marathas in Konkan. The Marathas fought bravely and proved superior in military strategy. Thus the plan of Aurangzeb of operating in Konkan, with a motive to do some harm to Sambhaji failed miserably[120] due to lack of provisions.

The Emperor for the present gave up his attempt against his rebel son Akbar and Sambhaji and directed his attention to the subjugation of Bijapur and Golkonda, the two Muslim states from whom Sambhaji received occasional support and who being both Shias in their faith had long been the objects of his wrath. Aurangzeb invaded Bijapur on 27th March and captured it after a heroic resistance on 2nd September 1686.

Similarly Golkonda was invaded on 28 January 1687 and it surrendered to Aurangzeb on 1st October of that year. So during these three years his main attention had been withdrawn from the Maratha

country in Konkan.[121] Thus for the next three or four years nothing of importance is recorded in Konkan.

Mughal Operations in Kokan :

The Mughal Sardars Kazi Muhammad and Abdul Kadir captured the fort Kothala which is situated in TalKonkan in Telya Ghat from the Marathas by deception. Both the sardars shouted and told falsely the persons in that fort that they had brought grains to be stored in the fort and made them open the gates. When the gates were opened Mughals rushed into the fort and fought against those persons and captured that fort in November, 1684.[122] After that the Marathas besieged the fort in order to conquer it from the Mughals.[123] Therefore, Abdul Kadir, who was in that fort requested help from Aurangzeb to hold that fort against the Marathas. Aurangazeb then sent the Mughal general Abdul Karim and others to help Abdul Kadir.[124]

Auragzeb also ordered Abdul Aziz Khan, the commandant of the fort of Junnar, to go to the help of Abdul Kadir (the commandant of fort Kothla) in November 1684; but the Mughals found that the way to the fort was blocked by Naroji, Abdul Kadir Khan, the Mugal Thanedar of Karus; Mankoji, the commander of Sambhaji. Thereupon Abdul Kair, son of Abdul Aziz Khan, attacked and captured Naroji. Soon after the capture of Naroji, Abdul Kadir Khan, the Mughal Thanedar of Karde-Nimone, reached that spot. They then attacked the Maratha troops and killed many of them in a battle.[125]

In the above-mentioned battle the Mughal Thanedars killed one Naro Trimbak and severed his head. Manakoji Pandhare, the Mughal Thanedar of Shikarpur, who was a party to that evil deed sent the head of Naro Trimbak along with his report through Udaji to Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb then had the head of Naroji Trimbak hung in a street.[126] Aurangzeb also gave a khilat as a reward to Udaji, who had carried the head of Naroji Trimbak to him.[127] In December 1684 Aurangzeb named the fort of Kothala as Miftha-ul-futuh.[128] Then in the same month, Aurangzeb ordered Marhamat Khan, the Mughal General, to go to the fort of Kothala and asked him to remain alert there against the Marathas. He also gave 2500 hons as a reward to Govindrao and other Mavales who had helped the Mughals to capture that fort.[129]

In January 1685, the Marathas tried to capture fort Kothalgad in Talkonkan, from the Mughals. The Maratha troops entered the fort Kothalgad in the dark of night. But Sayyid Abdul Karim, the Mughal commandant of Kothalgad became aware of their entry and he put on light in the fort. After that the Mughal troops fought with

arrows and guns with the Marathas. The Maratha troops then took to their heels. It was also reported to Aurangzeb that the people in that fort were put to great difficulties, as they did not receive supply of grains. Therefore, Aurangzeb ordered Abdul Khair, the Fauzdar of Junnar, to supply food grains to Kothalgad. Thereafter, 7000 Maratha troops had again gone to attack Kothalgad.[130] But the Mughals killed and wounded many of them.[131]

The Mughals were exerting to penetrate in the territory of the Marathas and were trying to carry out destruction in it. In January 1685, the Mughal general, Ghaziuddini Khan, proceeded from Poona and after reaching near Nizampur, set fire to three Maratha villages. He captured men and animals from these villages. After that he went to Wadi (Pachad) of Raigad where Sambhaji was present along with his relatives. On receiving the news of arrival of the Mughals, Sambhaji went to Raigad with those relatives. Ghaziuddin Khan then looted the Pachad Wadi, Nizampur, and other places. When he was having his camp at a distance of 2 cos from Raigad, Hambirrao Mohite, the commander in chief of Sambhaji and Rupaji Bhosle with 15,000 troops attacked him. But Ghaziuddin Khan defeated them and pursued them up to a distance of 7 cos. Ghaziuddin Khan then returned to his camp and looted the prosperous area around it.[132]

It seems that while pursuing those Maratha troops, Ghaziuddin Khan had reached near Gangoli, where Kavi Kalash fought against him and made him retreat to the Ghat.[133]

In March 1685, Saifullah Khan was attacked by the Marathas in the Kalyan-Bhivandi area. In the skirmish which took place between the Mughals and the Marathas, Jiwaji, the brother of Manakoji Pandhare of Shikrapur, did not help Saifulla Khan. Therefore, Saifulla Khan removed Jivaji from service.[134] This shows that the Marathas were trying to reconquer the territory lost to the Mughals in the Kalyan-Bhivandi area in 1685.

From the period between September 1983 and Jan-Feb. 1685 the Mughal armies had penetrated in the territory of Talkonkan. Khem Sawant, the Deasi of Kudal, revolted against Sambhaji and went over to the Portuguese who were the enemies of the Marathas.[135] With the help of Portuguese he looted and burnt Maratha territory which was near Goa.[136] In Jan. 1684 the Mughals attacked Dicholi, burnt Kudal and Banda and looted Vengurla.[137] Fearing an invasion by Sambhaji the Portuguese made a secret treaty on 8 Feb. 1685 with Khem Sawant, who it seems was acting as representative of all the Desais of Konkan.[138] In 1687, a part of the army of the Mughals, attacked Sindhudurg and looted Kudal which was in the hands of Sambhaji.

For his part in helping the Mughals, Khem Sawant was bestowed with the Sardeshmukhi[139] of Kudal Prant.

After the plots against Sambhaji in June 1680 and October 1681 had been crushed, Konkan witnessed a fresh conspiracy in October 1684 against him. When it came to light, Sambhaji threw Manaji More, Gangadhar and Vasudev Pandit and Sahuji Somnath into prison,[140] where they remained confined till the death of Sambhaji.[141]

After four years, in October 1688 the Shirke family rose against Sambhaji. They attacked Kavi-Kalash and drove him into Khelna for refuge. On hearing, the news of the defeat of Kalash, Sambhaji marched from Raigad to rescue his Pradhan, he defeated and routed the rebels at Sangameshwar and then went to Khelna.[142] On the advice of Kavi-Kalash, Sambhaji arrested Pralhad Niraji and many other ministers and leading people on suspicion of complicity in the plots against him.[143] After making necessary provisions in the Khelna fort he started with Kavi-Kalash, returning to his capital when Zulfiquar Khan, the Mughal general who had been deputed by Aurangzeb to conquer Raigad, was marching towards it with his troops.[144]

On his way back to Raigad, Sambhaji halted at Sangameshwar. He did not expect a Mughal advance from Kolhapur to Sangameshwar.[145]

The approach to Sagameshwar from the Ghat is very difficult. There are ups and downs on the road and also thick thorny bushes. Taking all this into consideration, Sambhaji thought himself quite safe and stayed there[146] with a desire to bathe in the river Banganga. Muqurrab Khan's spies who were moving in that territory sent the intelligence of Sambhaji's activity to Muquarrab Khan, who decided to capture him.[147] The Khan marched from Kolhapur towards Sangameshwar. In spite of receiving the news of Khan's approach, Sambhaji did not take measures to oppose him. But when he saw the enemy before him he came to fight the Mughals with his meagre resources. His followers fled when Kavi-Kalash was wounded and the General Maloji Ghorpade was killed.[148] Sambhaji stayed behind and ran to temple and hid himself there. The Mughals searched for him and located Sambhaji. Sambhaji was surprised and captured.[149] Kavi-Kalash who was wounded in the fight was also captured.[150] Muqarrab Khan immediately wrote an account of the capture of Sambhaji to Aurangzeb,[151] who ordered the music of rejoicing to be played.[152] Aurangzeb beheaded Sambhaji and Kavi-Kalash at Tulapur on 11th March 1689.[153]

The news of Sambhaji's capture reached Raigad very soon. Rajaram, the younger brother of Sambhaji was then under nominal confinement in the fort. He was released and proclaimed King on 9th February i.e. a week after Sambhaji had been captured. Pralhad, Niraji, Manaji More and others who had been unjustly confined by Sambhaji were set at liberty and restored to their offices.[154]

With a resolve to nip in the bud the revival of the Maratha royal power, the Emperor at once dispatched Hikad Khan, the son of Umdat-ul-Mulk with a large force to conquer the capital fort of Raigad and capture the new Maratha King[155] The Khan arrived before the fort on 25th March 1689 and at once laid siege to it. Yesubai, the widowed queen of Sambhaji, rose to the occasion and heartened the drooping spirits of the Maratha garrison. She advised Rajaram to slip away with his wives from the fort. She also advised the principal commanders to intensify the usual harassing operations in all directions against the Mughal forces.[156] She decided to stay in the fort with her son Shahu and defend the capital.[157] Accordingly, Rajaram left Raigad on 5th April 1689 in disguise with a band of faithful attendants for Jinji. Itiqad Khan captured the fort of Raigad,[158] seized Shahu, the son of Sambhaji, and his mother Yesubai on 19th October 1689.[159] Aurangzeb issued orders on 5 November 1689 that Raigad should be called Uttamgad.[160]

The murder of Sambhaji sent a thrill of horror and through vengeance every Maratha heart and that encouraged them to make sacrifice to restore the honour of the nation.

Menucci observes :

" It seemed as if the death of Sambhaji was bound to secure Aurangzeb's lordship over all the lands of Hindustan down to the sea. But the commanders of valorous Shivaji, the father of this unfortunate man, were by this time seasoned in fighting the Mughals, and experts in dealing with those foreigners. They determined to continue the campaign and uphold the cause of Ram Raja, the younger brother of the deceased King. Therefore, they took him out of the prison and made him their prince. Thus in 1689 the war recommenced with great fury which compelled so potent a king to remain away from his kingdom (i.e. Hindustan) and dwell in camp merely to prevent loss of his previous conquests[161] (of Bijapur and Golkanda)."

Rajaram's problem was to sustain the Maratha Kingdom against heavy Mughal onslaught. To tide over this problem he selected and appointed capable persons as his ministers to execute the job.

Those who were selected by him were Ramchandra Pant Nilkanth, as Hukumat Panah, Shankarajipant as Sachiv and Pralhad Niraji as administrator and Khandoji Naik Pansambal as chief of the army. After reaching Jinji, Rajaram by an order of 1690 made two divisions of Maharashtra. The Southern part beginning from Karad, Talkonkan and Gokarna was put under Ramchandrapant.[162] The Northern part of North Konkan was placed under Shankarajipant. Ramchandrapant was created Regent of the west with the title of Hakumat-panha and he guided the fortunes of this virtually kingless state with remarkable wisdom and tact. All the Maratha sardars went with King Rajaram to Jinji. He gave them titles, army commands, and grants for different districts where they were to go, loot the country and impose Chauth.[163]

The Maratha captains, each acting on his own account, tried on a guerilla warfare as described in Chitnis[164] and caused the greatest loss and disturbance to the Mughal territories. Rajaram was forced to adopt the method of conferring lands to counteract the activities of Aurangzeb who was attracting the Maratha warriors by the offer of jagirs and inams as can be seen in the following pages.

King Rajaram issued a letter of assurance to Sardar Krishnaji Gole of Konkan on 12 April 1689 to the effect that he should come with his contingent and that his services would be accepted by arranging for his maintenance.[165] It seems that the Emperor came to know this inducement by Rajaram. As a reaction to the inducement by Rajaram, the Mughal officers wrote letters of assurance to four members of the same Gole family stating that Inam of 4 villages and Jagir of 7 villages be bestowed on them on the condition that they should serve the Emperor faithfully and enjoy the gift.[166]

Providence crowned Ramchandrapant Amatya's endeavors with success and frustrated all the cherished desires of the Emperor.[167] From his base at Vishalgad which is on the border of Konkan, Ramchandrapant kept a vigilant eye upon the doings of numerous Maratha leaders, employed guerrila tactics over an extensive field of war stretching from Burhanpur in the North to Jinji in the South. In Konkan, a number of young spirited warriors came forward and executed the projects and commands of Ramchandrapant. One of them was Kanhoji Angre whose valour struck his enemies with terror which will be explained later.

By the capture of Sambhaji, the Emperor thought that terror of the Marathas in the Deccan was removed. He decided to do away with the Maratha rule from the Konkan. The Emperor quickly

appointed Matabarkhan, a shrewd general to govern and administer the important region of North Konkan, now known as district Thana, alongwith the charge of Nasik and Sangamner. Aurangzeb's orders to Matabarkhan were as follows : "After the arrival of Qadim Quli Khan, the Konkan should be entered from all sides. The forts of Mahuli and the other forts of that region be taken and Thanas (outposts) be established in Kalyan, Bhivandi and other places where required. The whole area could be considered under your jurisdiction until further orders." [168]

On 11th March 1689, Matabarkhan received the Emperor's orders to march against Mahuli. After collecting sufficient force from the other Mughal Thanedars, Matabarkhan started from Nasik. Resuming his march on 3rd April by way of the Kashtighat (4 miles North-East of Birvada), Birvada (4 miles North-East of Atgaon railway station) he reached Khardi, 9 miles North-East of Mahuli on 17th." [169]

How the entire Konkan came under the possession of Matabarkhan and how he became the unrivalled master of almost over fifty forts in that territory will be explained later on.

By the end of June 1689, the Khem Sawant of Sawantwadi became disloyal to the Marathas. He informed Aurangzeb that he would help Mughal armies in that territory by way of supply of food grains and establishment thanas. He also promised to open the road to Goa.[170]

On reaching Kalyan Matabarkhan found that the area had been devastated. There was no provision for water or food or grass. Provisions for the invaders (Mughals) had to be ordered from Surat.

On the 18th March 1689, Matabarkhan left village Khirdi and marched further. He got the news that about 1000 infantry soldiers of the enemy had emerged from the fort of Mahuli. They had taken up positions on the approaches of difficult pass. On receipt of this news Matabarkhan dispatched Bakshi Haji Ahmad Beg, Vikram Shripat, the zamindar of Jawar and other officers alongwith horsemen, infantry and musketeers. The battle raged for three hours and was fought with guns and arrows. Many of the Maratha soldiers were killed or wounded. They fled from the field. Such was the report from Matabarkhan to the Emperor.[171]

From Mahuli Matabarkhan came to Kalyan on 27th March 1689 and then laid siege to Durgadi, a fort overlooking Kalyan. He promised Aurangzeb to set up the administration of the district soon. He explained to the Emperor that the fort of Mahuli was the headquarters

of Talkonkan. There were no imperial thanas near-by. The fort had a good supply of provisions. The fort was a very strong one. To lay siege to the fort, Matabarkhan wanted to set up military posts around the fort for which an infantry force of five to six thousand was needed. He, therefore, decided to acquire the forts in the area by deceit and established contact with Dwarkaji Hawaldar of the fort and other men of his garrison, asking them to accept royal service. They were promised mansabs, rewards and other royal favours. They agreed to surrender the fort of Mahuli and the adjacent forts of Mahendragad, Pasalgad and others to the Mughals on receipt of sanads to them from the Emperor.[172] Contents of the news letter from Matabarkhan, delighted the Emperor, who issued orders accepting all the suggestions made by Matabarkhan. Matabarkhan handed over 2500 gold sovereigns to the custodian of the fort of Mahuli and obtained its possession. Killedar Khan was appointed as custodian of the fort according to Emperor's order. The Emperor also appointed Muhammad Safi as the Daroga of the fort of Chaul.[173]

On receiving all the forts in the vicinity of Talkonkan in the royal domains, Matabarkhan wanted Daulatmand (who was posted at Khirdi, a place 12 Kos from Mahuli and 18 Kos from Kalyan,) as a thanedar of Chaul. But the Emperor asked Matabarkhan to depute Ahmed Khan as fauzdar at Chaul and entrust the duties of watching the area around Kalyan and the Passes to Daulatmand Khan.[174] This order was carried out by Matabarkhan.[175] Thereafter, Matabarkhan concentrated his attention on the capture of fort Prabhalgad. This fort was very strong and unrivalled amongst the forts of Konkan. Under the Marathas it was the headquarters of the District. Matabarkhan planned to obtain it by force. Immediately he collected 900 infantry men from the Kolis and Bhils. To these added the troops raised by the Zamindars. He also despatched his officers to help them. These troops seized the opportunity and on the night of 17th July 1689, inspite of the heavy rains, scaled the walls of the fort. The garrison fought. The fight lasted till the break of dawn. Many of the garrison were killed and many were wounded. Many fell from the fort and died. Some of them surrendered and were captured. Some of the Mughal troops were also killed and some were injured. But the fort came under the possession of the Mughals. Matabarkhan sent the keys of the fort to the Emperor alongwith one Shaikh Abdul-Salam who was the first climb the fort by means of a rope. As this man had exerted well in this campaign his name was recommended for the award of a mansab by Matabarkhan to the Emperor. He also

requested the Emperor to appoint a custodian of this fort alongwith troops to defend the fort. He also mentioned in the letter that formerly an imperial officer Kesar Singh was in charge of the fort. During the reign of Shivaji, a garrison of 500 infantry soldiers had been posted to this fort. Until the arrival of the new custodian with the Emperor's orders Matabarkhan appointed Shaikh Muhammad Ishaq with the infantry soldiers to guard the fort. Subsequently, he also acquired forts Karnala, Mukatgad, Khotora, Jamdhari, Tilanggad, Manikgad Sankshi[176] and Durgadi. Thus he got all the forts and territory in the North Konkan from the Koli country to the Southward of Bombay into the possession of the Mughals.[177]

Matabarkhan also informed the Emperor of the administrative set up of North Konkan as part of the imperialist territory as follows :

"Vikram Sripat, Raja of Jawhar, imperial servant, is holding the Thana of Bhiwandi and other places. Overlrao is posted in the Thana of Panvel and Sanksha. Ahmed Khan is managing the Thana of Hatoli well. Govindrao is in the Thana of Kasgaon and Murbad."[178]

Thus, Matabarkhan established strong military outposts at kalyan, Bhiwandi, Pen, Panvel and Murbad in the Konkan. He held the region firmly in the face of strong Maratha attacks. How his achievements brought lustre to the Mughal arms in that quarter of Konkan is aptly written by his Secretary, Jethmal in the introduction to his letter book, as follows:

"The khan captured about 50 forts which Shivaji had seized in his life time. He cleared the hills from Aurangabad to the sea, especially the Nizamshahi Konkan plain and the district of Junnar from the impure dust of the presence of the infidels. The Thana of Kalian and other paraganas in the North Konkan had been ruined by twenty years of unbroken Maratha predominance. These he recovered, strengthened, colonised and ordered to be cultivated again and beautified new mansions, gardens, canals, etc."[179]

Matabarkhan fought for one year in the region of Konkan and captured all the forts in the area. In the Thana of Kalyan he constructed the following attractive buildings and spent his days in happiness.

1. A mansion for himself. In the mansion, there was a big drawing room (Diwankhana), a garden, a canal and a fountain. This was constructed in the year 1689.
2. A mosque, a hammam (bath) a beautiful garden, a pleasure house, a strong fort in the town of Kalyan and a Diwankhana a beautiful and attractive building for holding festivals and other

conferences. This was constructed in (1695-1696). Matabarkhan's wife died in 1696-97.

3. He constructed a tomb in her memory near the tank of Senala in Kalyan. He spent a lakh of Rupees on the construction of the tomb. The building was completed in 1117 A.H. (1705 to 1706).[180]

In October 1693 Matabarkhan concentrated his attention on conquering the fort of Siddhagid which is at a distance of 12 Kos from the fort of Mahuli. The Marathas had made it their lease and they were aiming at attacking the fort of Mahuli. For six months previous to that, the Mughals were trying hard to capture the fort. On 20th October 1693, the infantrymen including Lomanji Mavla employed in the Mughal service got the opportunity. In the last hours of the night they threw ropes to the ramparts of the fort and reached the top of the fort. After a stiff fight in which the Killedar of the fort was injured and captured, they succeeded in taking possession of the fort. On receipt of the news Khandoji Kadam and Dama Narayan, the two Maratha chiefs, rushed to Sidhagad from the fort of Rajmachi with a strong infantry force and cavalry. When Matabarkhan heard this news he dispatched reinforcement of a force of 300 and 1,500 infantry which reached the base of the fort with all speed. Fighting started and there was gun firing. There was a fight between the parties. The fighting went on till the break of dawn. At last the Mughals got a victory. The victorious troops were engaged in capturing other forts[181] in the vicinity.

Thereafter, the Mughals must have captured the fort of Karnala. The Sidi of Janjira controlled most of the present district of Raigad. Excepting Pen and Panvel, Raigad seems to have been constituted into a separate district and was outside the jurisdiction of Matabarkhan, The Maratha chief Angre, from his headquarters at Alibag, was already threatening the sea coast held by the Mughals. The Marathas lost no opportunity in falling upon the Mughal military posts. On 29th March 1694, they attacked the Mughal outpost at Pen. The description is as follows :

"Mughal Thanas have been established in Konkan recently. The Thana of Pen was held by Anji Adhal Rao. He was transferred. Matabarkhan asked his officer Shivaji, the son of Telangrao to hold the Thana of Panvel, Aur and Pen. Shivaji Telangrao maintained an infantry of 400 soldiers at Pen and strengthened that place. When Shankraji Pandit came to know of this, he gave orders to capture the Thana of Pen. Accordingly Maratha force gathered at Rajmachi and on the 12th of Shaban captured Pen."[182]

Through out his term as officer at Kalyan, Matabarkhan was continuously fighting against the Marathas in the Konkan region although the Konkan region was included in the imperial dominions in 1693.

Matabarkhan was posted at Kalyan in Konkan region in April 1689. Within a year he raised an infantry garrison force of 2000 and captured all the forts in Kalyan Prant area. Without utilising government equipment, he ensured the protection of the forts in the area. He also made similar arrangements for the Thanas under him. In recruiting the infantry and in entertaining cavalry more than required under the rules, he had raised funds and incurred a debt of Rs. 2,50,000. Therefore, Matabarkhan requested for the funds from the Emperor who paid him only 50,000 rupees.[183]

Earlier, Shripat, the Raja of Jawhar, had died while serving the Mughals at Nasik. His son Vikram Shripat who was at that time four years old was brought up by his mother Gaurai and administered her estates well. The Emperor, on receiving petition from the boy bestowed on him the mansab and the title of Shripat. Thereafter, he served the Government. He wrested the estate of Jawhar from the hands of the enemy. He captured Kohij and other four forts and included them in the imperial domains. He was actively engaged in serving the Emperor. Matabarkhan, on arriving in Konkan, established thanas in that region and appointed Vikram Shripat as the Thanedar of Bhiwandi. He managed that Thana well. Vikram Shripat died while serving the Emperor. The death of Vikram Sripat caused great distress to the Kolis. To console them his son was given mansab by the Emperor on recommendation from Matabarkhan.[184]

Narayan Deo, the Raja of Ramnagar who was in imperial service, was holding a mansab of 1500 Zat and 600 cavalry. He was attached to the forces serving under Matabarkhan. He died on duty. His son Hardeo who was 14 years old was given the gift of ten thousand rupees and an elephant and old mansab in order that he would serve the Mughals and would not join the Marathas. It was expected of him to prevent disturbances breaking out in that territory.[185]

In June 1702 the Mughals captured the fort of Khelna from the Marathas.[186]

Shaikh Ahmad and Zainul Abidin were the sons of Matabarkhan's sister. They served in the Mughal army in the Konkan region for nine years from 1689 to 1698. Matabarkhan recommended them to the Emperor for giving them better pay.[187]

In 1697 Dhanaji and other Maratha chiefs invaded Bijapur. Matabarkhan came to know that Dhanaji intended to proceed to Kalyan and Bhiwandi. Therefore, Matabarkhan took steps to protect the Thanas under him. But Matabarkhan informed the Emperor about the disturbances created by the Marathas everywhere. As the troops under him were small in number he could not stop the Maratha depredations in Konkan region.[188] The Maratha disturbances in the Konkan region were so great that no Mughal officer exerted to fight the Maratha chiefs and to put them down.[189]

In 1689 they were supposed to be crushed, but by 1693 they had gradually and firmly raised their head in Maharashtra in general and Konkan in particular. The singular success of the Maratha army under Santaji and Dhanaji achieved at Jinji, enlivened the spirit of the Marathas in Maharashtra and Konkan. The terror these two generals caused in the rank and file of the Mughal army at Jinji had greater impact on homeland. The morale of the Marathas had been elevated considerably high. They regained the lost faith in the existence of their state and thus their activities were intensified with great confidence in all parts of Maharashtra including Konkan.[190]

When Matabarkhan came to know that the Portuguese were secretly helping the Marathas against the Mughals he attacked Bassein. Therefore, the Portuguese lodged complaint against Matabarkhan with Aurangzeb. The Emperor asked Matabarkhan to maintain amicable relations with the Portuguese.

On receipt of Aurangzeb's advice Matabarkhan informed Sidi Yaqut Khan that the Portuguese obeyed the orders of the Emperor and that it was agreed to maintain peace, and himself wrote letters of assurance to the Portuguese.[191] The port of Chaul was beyond the jurisdiction of Matabarkhan. He even addressed a letter to Hakim Muhasin Khan, Faujdar of the port informing him that taking into account the disturbances created by the Marathas everywhere he should administer the port of Chaul with at least 300 cavalry and 1000 infantry.[192] On his arrival at Kalyan from Nasik, Matabarkhan laid siege to the fort of Durgadi and captured it. He found that the region of Konkan was devastated. Therefore, he requested Sidi Yaqut Khan instruct the traders in his territory to convey provisions of food and other articles in the Mughal territory as the army personnel were put to great trouble owing to scarcity of goods.[193] In the meantime Matabarkhan came to know that the Emperor issued a fireman appointing Fatch Jang Khan as the Faujdar and custodian of fort Raigad who got apology from the English for their misdeeds.[194] Matabarkhan was ordered by the Emperor to investigate the condition

of destroyed mosques and religious schools in the region of Talkonkan during Sambhaji's regime. Matabarkhan made the report as follows :

" In this region there were many places populated by Muslims. In the villages there were mosques and religious schools. Religious minded people used to derive benefits from these institutions. In the disturbances created by the Marathas the region became extremely desolate. "

" Religious minded and learned Muslims who had dispersed have come back to their places and are propagating the law of the Shariat. In the town of Kalyan, in the town of Bhiwandi, in the town of Panvel and in the town of Sanola and in the Mahals under me there are many Muslims and Muslims schools. The demand for more schools and Jame mosques is reasonable. "[195]

Due to disturbances by the Marathas in the Talkonkan and non-cooperative attitude of some of the Mughal officers holding offices within his jurisdiction of Talkonkan, Matabarkhan seems to have entered into an understanding with the Marathas by sharing the revenue of his province with them. This measure was adopted by the Mughal officers in the districts, when they found that they were receiving less and less help from the Emperor in their fight with the Marathas. According to the English records, sometime after 1700 A.D. Matabarkhan started paying 1/3 of the revenues to the Marathas. He constructed a number of buildings at Kalyan. Of these, only the tomb of his wife and the mosque survived to the present day. Matabarkhan seems to have died at the end of 1705. He was succeeded as Faujdar by Zaimuddin Ali Khan. Zaimuddin continued in his post till 1719 A.D., when according to the Mughal-Maratha agreement, the province of Kalyan came into the hands of the Marathas.[196]

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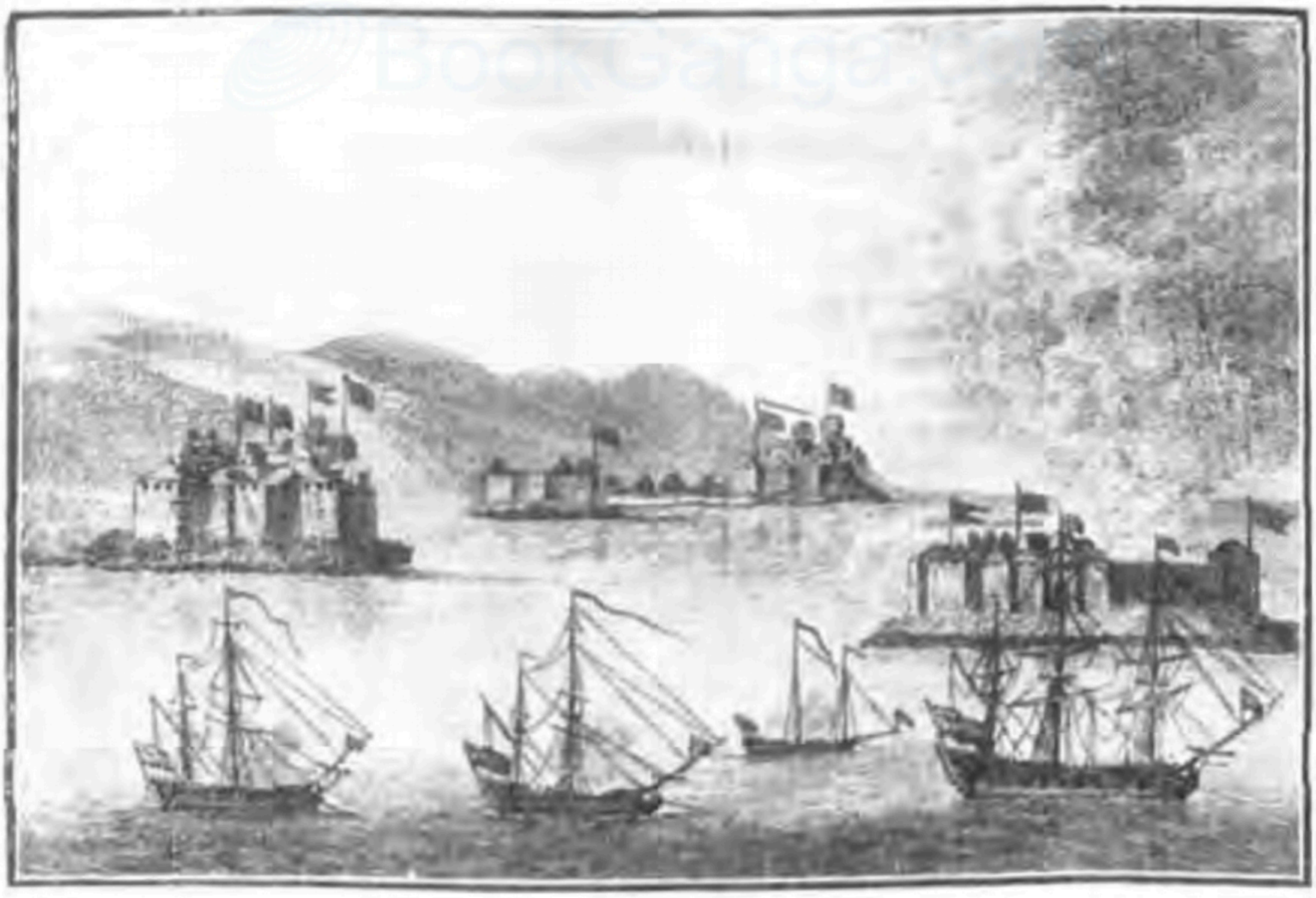

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Chapter - V

Sovereignty of the sea in Konkan region with the Marathas from the Portuguese (1655-1732 A.D.)

We have already noticed that the Portuguese had gained the Bassein province from the Sultan of Gurjat in 1534. In 1556 the Portuguese Governor, Francisce Barreto, took Asheri and Manora Fortresses in 1559, the Portuguese Viceroy captured the fort of Daman. By about 1580, the Portuguese were ruling Div, Daman the island of Bombay, Bassein and Chaul in North Konkan. In 1665, the Portuguese handed over the island of Bombay to the British.

The Portuguese established their mastery over the Indian Ocean in the 16th century and they prohibited the ships of other nations from plying on it without Portuguese Permit.[1] During Shivaji's regime the Portuguese were a maritime power. The Portuguese had conflicts with the Marathas and both fought several battles in the Indian Ocean. It is interesting to know how in Konkan Shivaji dealt with the Portuguese.

Portuguese-Maratha relations in Konkan (1658 to 1707) :

Shivaji swooped on the North Konkan which included Bassein and Chaul belonging to the Portuguese. To Prevent further incursions of Shivaji into their possession, the Portuguese strengthened the military posts in Chaul by posting eighty soldiers there to have a watch in camps as well as in Korlai.[2] Shivaji became powerful by conquering territory in the North Konkan and maintained many naval vessels at Bhiwandi, Kalyan and Panvel ports in the Bassein district. This had alarmed the Portuguese who ordered their captains to prevent the Maratha navy in the sea and also to check their activities.[3]

Capture of the large territory of Adilshah's kingdom in the North Konkan by Shivaji alarmed the Portuguese Governor who wrote on 28th December, 1658 thus : Shivaji goes on annexing lands from the kingdom of Adilshah. If he continues this he will very shortly become master of the entire kingdom of Adilshah. It seems, that Aurangzeb connived at Shivaji's activities at this time..[4]

In another Portuguese letter dated 22-3-1660, it was stated that the Adilshah had lost major part of his kigdom to Shivaji who came

very close to Bijapur. Shivaji defeated many captains of King Adilshah, inflicting loss of men and horses that composed the kings' main power. On the strip of the sea and in the inland he had taken many cities, villages and other places. He had also amassed much wealth."[5]

The rare Military acumen of Shivaji quickly grasped the importance of sea-power and organised the fleet which began to challange the sovereignty of the sea, claimed by the Portuguese. At that time, the Portuguese had in their possession, Bassein, Thana, Revdanda and Goa. Goa was the seat of their Government on the West Coast of India. In the 17th century, the Portuguese became so powerful that they did not allow any ship to ply on this sea without their **dastak**. Soon, the Portuguese became the unchallenged masters of the Indian Ocean.[6]

The Portuguese considered that the Indian Ocean was their "private estate" and that no one else could use it without their permission. The ships which, did not have portuguese "Dastak" used the sea at their own risk. The permits or cartaz, were sold at fairly reasonable prices but they imposed the most exacting restrictions upon the ships that had the permits. They were not permitted to carry Christian slaves and were forbidden to visit any ports belonging to the enemies of the Portuguese; they were also forbidden to trade in the items of merchandise, which the Portuguese chose to declare as their monopoly. Ships found without **cartaz** could be, and often were, seized by the Portuguese and made to pay heavy indemnities or, at times were sunk. The ships of the Indian rulers, including those of the Mughal Emperor and Shivaji were not exempt from the obligations of carrying the cartaz. The Portuguese retained the right of searching all ships; any Portuguese sea captain could accost a passing ship and demand to search it. Indian merchants did not dare to set out on their Voyages unless they were given their cartaz by the Portuguese. Besides the Portuguese, the Sidi was very powerful and the sworn enemy of the Maratha state. He carried fire and sword everywhere on the Western coast. In order to stop the monopoly of the Portuguese and prevent the Sidis depredations on the water and to starve him out and acquire sovereignty of the Arabian sea, Shivaji planned to build up navy.

According to Amatya, Shivaji considered the Navy as an independent limb of the Maratha State. Sovereignty of the Sea, therefore, was the first objective of Shivaji's navy. Between 1657 and 1659, Shivaji had set afloat the keel of his first ship in the creek

of Kalyan. During the next two years, he attacked Dabhol, sacked Rajapur and brought the Ratnagiri coast under his banner.

In 1659 Shivaji laid the foundation of the Maratha navy. The Portuguese reported to His majesty (King of Portugal) that Shivaji had built some men of war in Bhiwandi, Kalyan and Panvel, port in Bassein Taluka. The Portuguese used to build their ships in several ports of Bassein Taluka. Shivaji built his first twenty armed ships with the help of skilled Portuguese carpenters and other artisans. Shivaji had declared that these ships were built to meet the menace of Sidi of Janjira. About 340 workmen, Portuguese and others, worked under the supervision of Portuguese Artisan Roe Viegas.[7] Raja Jaisingh had also suspected that there were some Portuguese men in Shivaji's service and complained to that effect to the Portuguese viceroy at Goa. As a result, the Portuguese viceroy Antonio De Melo de Castro ordered all Portuguese in Shivaji's service to quit their jobs accordingly.[8] They fled to Bombay and Bassein.

Shivaji's flect consisted mostly of galvetas. They were small but speedy which gave them an advantage over the slow, large sized Portuguese ships.[9] As mentioned earlier, in the days of Shivaji the Portuguese considered themselves supreme in the Indian Ocean. Trading ships from the territories of Adilshah Mughal and Shivaji were to secure permits from the Portuguese for plying in the Arabian Sea. For securing these permits (cartazes) a fee had to be paid and certain conditions had to be complied with as stated above. The Portuguese often found Shivaji's ships without such permits and these ships were seized by them. Similarly, there were cases of Shvaji's ships seizing trading vessels from Portuguese in Konkan.[10] When Shivaji began to build up his fleet he declared that it was for use against the Sidi of Danda-Rajapuri. In the Sidi-Shivaji conflict, the Portuguese helped the Sidi.

We understand from the letter of 15th January 1664, addressed to His Majesty by the Viceroy that the Portuguese were following a compromising policy towards Shivaji, who in turn reciprocated the same.[11] Soon after taking charge of the Government, the Viceroy Antonio DeMelo De Castro deputed his representative called Dom Alvaro de Ataide with a letter dated 26 April, 1663,[12] requesting Shivaji to depute an envoy through whom some matters of mutual benefit might be discussed. The Captain of Chaul wrote to the Governor of Goa in August 1664 that Shivaji was building 50 ships in Upper Chaul and that seven of them were ready to be set out into the sea.[13] The Portuguese adopted the policy of not obstructing their

passage in view of Shivaji's ever growing power.[14] It was also reported by the Portuguese to their master that Shivaji had built many forts on the Konkan coast to protect his ships.[15]

When Shivaji attacked Sidi in July 1659, the Portuguese captains at Chaul and Bassein supplied food grains to the Sidi and helped him in other ways also. Shivaji complained about this to the Portuguese Viceroy. in consequence, the Portuguese decided to help the Sidi secretly.[16] The Portuguese were well-disposed towards the Sidi and to persuade them openly to ally with him, the Sidi accepted Portuguese overlord ship in 1667. In the middle of December 1664, a Muslim general of Bijapur called Khawas Khan had set out with his army in the vicinity of Goa to punish Shivaji. He was assisted by Lakham Sawant and Keshav Naik of Pedne. Shivaji abruptly rushed through his lands and compelled him to give up Konkan and climbed up the Ghats. When the army of Khawas Khan was defeated, his allies Lakham Sawant and others ran into Portuguese territory of Bardez for safety allowing Shivaji to become master of their land in Konkan.[17]

On one occasion Shivaji plundered Bicholim and the border area of Goa from Raibag to Sahapur. After this, Shivaji's authority prevailed in the Konkan except in Phonda and Panch Mahal. Lakham Sawant of Kudal, Keshav Naik and Keshav Prabhu of Pernem, Kalu Shenvi of Bicholimall Desai's of Konkan who fought with Shivaji under the command of Khawas Khan, took shelter with the Portuguese in different places. Of these Desai's, Lakham Sawant fought alongside Khawas Khan till the end and did not run away to Goa till 13th December 1664.[18] It is already stated earlier that in March 1665 Jaisingh and Delarkhan came to the Deccan to punish Shivaji, who got engaged with them till Feb. 1666. The treaty of Purandar was concluded by Shivaji with the Mughals. When the Mughals came to know that the Portuguese were sympathetic to Shivaji in the Surat affairs, Mughal captain Lodi Khan led an attack on Bassein territory, captured a number of villages and destroyed some. Finally, with great difficulty, the Portuguese entered into a treaty of friendship with Lodi Khan.[19]

In March 1666, Shivaji besieged the Phonda fort. The Portuguese thought it would be dangerous if the fort had gone into the possession of Shivaji, so they secretly supplied ammunition to the fort and also arranged secretly to escort all Konkan Desais, who were Partisans of Bijapur, to the fort via the Chapera River. Due to Portuguese secret help Shivaji could not continue the operations; therefore he withdrew the siege.

Viceroy Conde De San Vincento informed the king of Portugal about Shivaji's escape from Agra. After his escape from Agra, Shivaji regained all the territory of Konkan that Adilshah had taken from him except Phonda, Jambavali Panchmahal and Goa which were in the possession of the Portuguese. The Portuguese in Goa were trying to convert to Christianity those Hindus who were resident in Bardez.* The Viceroy had issued a notification on 21st September 1667 that all Hindus should quit the limits of Bardez within a period of two months. When Shivaji came to know this, he dispatched an army of 1000 cavalry and 5000 infantry to Bardez on 19-20th November 1667.[20] For three days (20-22nd November) Shivaji's troops plundered a number of villages and arrested hundreds of people.[21] They killed three priests and a number of christens.[22]

As the Portuguese Viceroy had received news of the impending invasion of Bardez by Shivaji through his intelligence four days earlier, he had enough time to make arrangements for the protection of the Portuguese with the help of Keshav Naik, Lakham Sawant and other Desais who were then in Goa. But he was short of ammunition and men to meet onslaught of the Marathas. Therefore, Viceroy Conde De San Vincente begged for the peace.

In the meantime the Marathas entered Bardez and killed three priests and some christens in retaliation to the abduction and conversion of Shivaji's subjects especially Brahmans.[23] The Marathas captured many prisoners. The Dutch of Vengurla recorded that among the captured were women and children.[24]

On receipt of a letter from the Viceroy, Shivaji did not raise any objection for entering into a treaty of friendship with the Portuguese. The negotiations for a treaty between Shivaji and the Portuguese began after 20th November 1667. On 24th November, the Viceroy replied to Shivaji's letter saying that maintenance of peace between him and the Portuguese was in his (Shivaji's) hands. Shenvi Kothari carried a letter to Shivaji, who was then at Bitchalim near Goa.[25] After Shivaji's arrival at Raigad, he deputed Sakopant as his envoy to Goa. It was with this envoy that the Portuguese Viceroy concluded a treaty of friendship with Shivaji on 5th December 1667. With the text of the treaty a Portuguese envoy, Padre, Gonsalo Martence, came to Raigad and the treaty was endorsed by the Maratha Government on 12th December, 1667.

As mentioned in the treaty, the women who were captured during the invasion of Bardez were restored to the Viceroy of Goa after the

treaty of friendship was concluded. As a matter of fact, women and children from enemy territory always received protection in times of war from Shivaji's soldiers.[26] Shivaji's strict instructions to his army were, as stated by Sabhasad in his chronicle, that in foreign territory no woman or child should be molested.[27] The Portuguese Viceroy Conde de San Vincente informed the king of Portugal that Shivaji duly returned all the plunder and women and children, that his troops had seized, according to the treaty.

The year after coronation i.e. 1675, on 18 April, Shivaji laid siege to the fort of Ponda. The fort commander was one Mohamed Khan. Shivaji had taken a pledge from the Portuguese to remain neutral. But they secretly tried to supply men and grain to Phonda. The Maratha captured the fort and arrested Mohamed Khan & his men. The English factor at Karwar says in his letter of 18th May, 1675 that Shivaji had captured the fort. Thus the Maratha captured the fort about 16th May, 1675. Adilshah's chronicle, Basatin us salatin says that Phonda fort was captured by Shivaji on 15 Safar,[28] 1086.[29]

The adjacent villages came under Maratha administration. In the same month, Shivaji captured Shiveshwar, Ankola forts and Karwar.[30] Shivaji's writ now ran in the whole of Bijapur Konkan. In this way Shivaji captured all the Bijapur territory below the ghats till the Mirjan River. On occupation of the Phonda fort by the Marathas, one Trimbak Pandit was appointed as killedar by Shivaji.[31]

Thereafter, the Portuguese came into conflict with Shivaji when the latter demanded "Chawthai" of Daman from the Portuguese in 1671. It so happened that the Koli Raja of Jawhar rebelled against the Chawthiya Raja in 1670 and demanded from the Portuguese that the "Chawthai"[32] be paid to him

The Portuguese agreed to pay 'Chawthai' to the Raja of Jawhar. In order to Subdue the Koli Raja of Jawhar, the Portuguese captain of Daman secretly requested Shivaji in December 1671, to punish him. Accordingly Moropant Pingle, the Peshwa of Shivaji, attacked Jawhar and put the Koli Raja to rout.[33] Still the Raja of Ramnagar did not surrender to the Marathas. After having taken most of the territory of Ramnagar, the Marathas demanded the 'Chawthai' of Daman from the Portuguese. But under the excuse that the whole of the Ramnagar raj had not been conquered, the Portuguese kept with them as deposit the 'Chawthai' from 1671 to 1677 and did not pay it either to Ramnagar or to Shivaji. Even so the Portuguese recorded that Shivaji did not harm Daman in any way.[34]

In January 1677, Shivaji completed the conquest of Ramnagar and then demanded 'Chawthai' from the Portuguese. The Portuguese

were ready to pay the Chawthai to Shivaji from the date on which his conquest of Ramnagar was completed, the arrears were not to be paid. For a long time the correspondence regarding 'Chawthai' continued between Shivaji and the Viceroy but under one pretext or the other, they did not pay the dues to him till the last.[35]

However, a tax called Gavkhandi was paid to Shivaji by the Portuguese from Tarapur and Sayban parganas of Bassein province in 1677.[36] The Portuguese paid this tax also to the Chautiya Raja.

In August 1676, the General of Bassein came to know that the Maratha force had gathered near Kalyan and Bhiwandi for attacking Salsette. In 1679 the relations between the Portuguese and Shivaji deteriorated considerably. The Governor of Goa kept 5000 infantry ready near Concolim, surmising that Shivaji would attack Salsette in Goa. The Portuguese planned to attack Phonda before the Marathas invaded Goa. The Marathas, under the leadership of Mahadaji Anant, were ready for fight. Just then came the news of Shivaji's death and the Maratha troops that had gathered on the Goa border, hastily withdrew and the conflict was averted.[37]

The Portuguese in Konkan cowed by Sambhaji :

Immediately after the death of Chhatrapati Shivaji (3rd April 1680), Sambhaji tried to enter into a treaty of friendship with the Portuguese by deputing his personal envoy Ramaji Naik to Goa. But this did not materialise when the Portuguese welcomed Sambhaji's suggestion and requested him to finalise it by delegating necessary powers to the envoy who would be commissioned to negotiate with the Portuguese on his behalf. At the time of his becoming master of the Maratha Kingdom, Sambhaji did not seem to have a proper atmosphere around him for a long time in which he could think of finalising a treaty of peace with the Portuguese. But Sambhaji wanted to maintain peace in Konkan. Therefore, on getting complaints form the Portuguese against More Dadaji, Subhedar of Bicholim, Sambhaji removed him from that post and appointed Jivaji Vinayak in his place.[38]

At the beginning of 1682, Sambhaji took Anjediv, island off Karwar and made preparations to build a fort there. In this attempt the Portuguese saw the danger to their interest and promptly occupied it on 5th May, 1682 and constructed a strong fort on it for its defence.[39]

In 1682 (August) the Portuguese Viceroy learnt that the Mughal army was marching against Sambhaji after much preparation. The Viceroy issued orders to his officers at Chaul, Bassein and Daman to allow passage to the Mughal army through the Portuguese territories.[40]

The Portuguese also constructed a fort at Parsik near the creek of Kalyan, when they learnt about the efforts of Sambhaji to construct a fort there in order to obstruct the Mughal ships which were to move in the Kalyan-Bhiwandi area.[41] It appears that in the war of the Mughals against Sambhaji, the Portuguese wished a victory of the Mughals and for that reason they helped the Mughals against him in order to secure from them the territory of South Konkan which they had desired to possess for long.[42] As a result of the Portuguese help to the Mughals against the Marathas, Sambhaji's troops had started skirmishes against the Portuguese since May 1683.[43] The Portuguese act of allowing the Mughal ships to carry grain ships through the Thana creek enraged Sambhaji. He opened a war front against the Portuguese in North Konkan, through which they had given a passage to the Mughal troops against the Marathas.[44]

During 1683 Sambhaji personally attacked the Portuguese at Chaul and Goa. With the help of one thousand cavalry and two hundred infantry, Sambhaji attacked and sacked the Portuguese town of Tarapur.[45] The siege of Chaul was continued without success; but Karanja was taken possession of and retained nearly for a year. Several places belonging to the Portuguese between Bassein and Daman were attacked and destroyed by the Marathas.[46] The Marathas besieged the fortress of Chaul on 20th June, 1683 and attacked the Portuguese fort of Korlai (Marro de Chaul). But the Portuguese repulsed their attack. The siege of the fortress of Chaul was continued by the Maratha troops for the next six months under the command of Nilo Moreshwar, the Peshwa of Sambhaji.[47] On 22-23rd July, 1683, the Marathas launched an assault on the Revdanda fort, but the Portuguese repulsed it.[48] Don Manoel Lopode Silveria was the general of the Bassein at this time with one battalion of infantry. He, therefore, sought the help of Sidi Yukutkhan of Janjira who supplied 400 men to the Portuguese. So, de Silverias battalion and Sidi's 400 soldiers were taken by sea to Revdanda.[49]

Early in the morning of 8th August the Marathas made an assault on the city of Chaul. They attacked the walls with many scaling ladders, which they easily set up, there being very few to oppose them. But the alarm being sounded, religious and laymen flew to the walls and threw down the scaling ladders. The Marathas suffered great loss and in a short time were forced to abandon their attempt.[50]

In August, 1683 the Maratha again attempted to take the fortress of Morro (Korlai) which is upon the mountain at the mouth of the city of Chaul.

The Marathas set six spies from the side facing the land to scale the bastion of the fortress. The spies scaled the wall of the bastion but were caught and when put to torture disclosed the purpose of their coming. The Portuguese then discharged their guns with such disastrous effect upon the Marathas, that they withdrew with the loss of more than 500 men.[51]

The Marathas gained same success in the Portuguese territory on the coast North of Bombay. On 2nd September, 1683 Maratha men began to destroy the ripe crops in the village of Anzor, near Bassein, but fled as soon as they saw the 25 European soldiers whom the captain of Fort Parsica had sent against them. The Portuguese, in making a headlong pursuit, fell into an ambush and most of them were killed.[52]

Both sides made extensive preparations during the closing months of the rainy season. In October, 1683, the siege of Chaul was pressed very close. Chaul lay in a desperate condition for some months. But the Marathas failed to take it.[53]

The viceroy of Goa planned and attacked with a view to make diversion by laying siege to Phonda a fort under the Marathas which is 10 miles South East of Goa town. The Maratha soldiers managed to hold that fort against the Portuguese upto 9th, November, 1683. On the same day, Sambhaji rushed from Rajapur and reached that spot.[54] Thereupon the Portuguese army was completely outflanked and lost heart. So the Marathas safely entered the fortress of Phonda. The Portuguese Viceroy somehow managed to retreat to Goa.[55]

In 1683 from Phonda Sambhaji marched towards Goa. Finally, the Marathas and the Portuguese came to terms and concluded a peace treaty.[56]

By 1693 the Marathas planned to use the tactics of harassing the Mughal troops quite effectively with their small roving hands. In their effort, the support came from the local population and the Portuguese. Matabar Khan found that the Portuguese joined hands with the Marathas. They were raising disturbances in the Mughal territory. They gave shelter to the families of the Maratha in their territory. They were aiming at inflicting attacks on the forts under the Mughals. The Portuguese officer D'mello called Shamji More from the fort of Khanderi. He arrived with an infantry of 1500 and was given a place in the town of Thana by the Portuguese. It was decided that the Portuguese would render assistance to the Marathas. The Marathas would then attack the fort of Mahuli. This was reported by Matabar Khan to the Emperor.[57] The Portuguese and the Marathas jointly inflicted great damage to the fort of Banalgad.

The peasants in the Mughal occupied territory in Konkan took shelter in the Portuguese territory. They jointly inflicted damage to the fort of Karnala. The Portuguese supplied provisions to the garrison of that fort. The result was that the cultivators fled and took shelter in the Portuguese territory.[58] Matabar Khan understood that the Portuguese and the Marathas had decided to attack Bhiwandi with the great force.[59]

The acting Governor of Goa informed the king of Portugal by a letter dated 10th January, 1691 that a number of Desais had abandoned the Mughal and joined Rajaram because they professed the same religion. Besides, the Muslims indulged in assaulting their women and demolishing their temples. On this occasion, Portuguese policy in regard to the Mughals and the Marathas was equivocal. They played the parties against each other and deceived both. The secret of such a policy was that the Portuguese were certain that Maratha rule would be re-established in Konkan and they, therefore, considered it more beneficial that Hindu rulers should be their neighbours than the Muslim.[60]

Matabar Khan found that the Maratha forces were drawing the support from the Portuguese territory. He warned the Portuguese that their hostile attitude and acts would invite the Emperor's displeasure. The Portuguese did not heed to Matabar Khan's advice.[61] Therefore, Matabar Khan got annoyed and decided to bring back the families of Tal Konkan region from the Portuguese territory who had gone from the Parganas of the Sarkar of TalKonkan due to the disturbance of the Marathas.[62] He also asked Sidi Yaqut Khan, Janjira Chief, to march against the Portuguese by way of Salsette so that the Portuguese would then get a lesson from giving shelter to the Marathas.[63] Matabar Khan himself attacked Bassein territory from Bhiwandi in 1692 and resorted plunder and devastation. He also captured the fort of Sindhagad.[64] Thereupon the Portuguese lodged complaint against Matabar Khan in the court of Aurangzeb. With the Maratha war in hand, Aurangzeb did not want to add to his difficulties. He ordered Matabar Khan to return the captured goods and personnel to the Portuguese and forbade him from picking up quarrel with the Portuguese.[65]

During the time of Shivaji the Portuguese did not succeed in asking Maratha ships to hold a cartaz from the Portuguese. But after the fall of Raigad in 1689 the Portuguese raised their head and they claimed the sovereignty of the sea and compelled the Maratha navigators to purchase their **cartazas** failing which their ships were confiscated.[66]

Kanhoji refused to accept the Portuguese control over the sea and made vigorous attempts to enforce his authority. He captured all ships which did not carry his pass. "Every ship was expected to sail with his (Angre's) cartazes failing which they were deemed legitimate prizes and sent under escort to one of the Maratha ports.[67]

In Konkan Kanhoji Angre was bent upon recovering all territories occupied by the Sidis during the period following the execution of Sambhaji. Hence immediately on assuming the chief command of the Maratha fleet, Kanhoji came into a clash with the Sidis.

In the year 1699 Kanhoji gave a crushing defeat to the combined forces of the Sidis, the Mughals and the Portuguese and captured Sajargad and the country around and forced his opponents to come to an agreement. It was agreed that the revenue of Chaul should be divided between the Mughals and the Angre and that the revenue of Parhur, a village near Alibag, should belong to the Sidis.[68]

The English records give us a graphic picture of the incessant struggle between the Sidis and Kanhoji Angre in Konkan. A dispatch of 6th March, 1700 notes, "the Siddies lie full before Canlaby and Candry and the hath so great forces yet Marathas find a way with their galvett from one place to the other."[69] Tarabai personally led an expedition against the Sidi who was devastating Konkan. She ordered Malharrao Deshmukh to reach Chiplun by Kumberlen pass and herself marched to join him (Deshmukh)[70] The war went on without any pause. The Portuguese Captain of Chaul wrote in a letter dated 22 February, 1701 :

"Twenty thousand Marathas under the command of Ramchandra Pant attacked the territory of Siddi Yakut Khan of Janjira and plundered it. They were going to do likewise in Korlai but the Captain of Korlai bombarded them and they hastily retreated. The Marathas were in the Sidi's territory for a month. After their return, the Sidi fleet besieged the Angria fort of Kolaba and carried off fifty warships (galvetas). He sent an army to encircle the fort by land also. He asked for ships to carry his army beyond the creek and I supplied them."[71]

The English record dated 2 April, 1701, tells us that the Sidi had suffered heavily in a skirmish with the Marathas and had called a surgeon form Bombay to dress his wounded men.[72] A contemporary writer shows how the Marathas at that time punished the Sidis and the Portuguese in Konkan in the following words :

"As a sequel to the Ramchandra Pant outrages of the Sidi and the Portuguese, the whole of Konkan was devastated and very existance of Maharashtra Dharma was challenged. Sarkhel Kanhoji Angre, with the aid of his Valiant nobles such as Sekhroji Mohite, Ranoji Gole, Khandoji, Mankar Kharade and Hassan Khan Jamadar gave crushing defeat to the Sidi and protected the Hindu religion in the Konkan.[73]

Caetano Mello de Castro arrived in India as the Portuguese Viceroy in the latter part of the year 1703 and took charge of the Government, On 2nd October, 1703. His administration was chiefly known for an endeavour to consolidate and extend the Portuguese power in the District bordering upon Goa (Konkan). Under his orders the fortress of Ambona belonging to Bhosle was razed to the ground; in 1705 he took the command in person for the capture and destruction ofthe castle of Bicholim and in the following year he subjugated and fortified the islands of Corjuem and Ponden.[74] In the beginning of June 1705, the Mughals took possession of Mardangad fort from Khem Sawant.[75] The above mentioned two islands were captured by Khem Sawant in the same year 1705. In 1706 the Portuguese troops concentrated for an attack on the islands of Kharjuven and Paneli and finally took possession of these islands by defeating Khem Sawant.[76]

Having gained the Konkan territory from the Mughal Emperor as a Jagir for Chhatrapati Shahu the Marathas considered it a rightful and legitimate act to recover tribute from the Portuguese also. Actually the Mughal Emperor never had any authority over the territory of Konkan. When the Marathas expected tribute from Goa, the Viceroy evaded payment.[77]

According to the treaty of 1718 concluded by the Deccan Subahdar Husain Ali and later confirmed by the Emperor, Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath brought to Satara, the Sanads of the Sardeshmukhi rights from the Mughal Court in 1719. In the same year Kalyan and Bhiwandi were evacuated by the Mughal garrison and was occupied by Ramchandra Mahadeo Chaskar on behalf of the Peshwa who now became the next door neighbour to the Portuguese.[78] Immediately on the establishment of their power at Kalyan the Marathas demanded tribute from the Portuguese which they refused saying that their country was not subordinate to that of the Mughal.[79]

In 1720, the Mughal claims to the Konkan were withdrawn. Thereupon, Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath drew up schemes for collecting and distributing the revenues and for preserving a common interest among the Marathas. Under the Peshwa's scheme, the Angre paid to

the Satara ruler tribute in military stores and in European and Chinese wares. They were also sometime charged with the duty of executing state criminals.[80]

From now onwards Kanhoji's maritime activities must be viewed as a part of general struggle of the Maratha nation against the Sidis who were the Mughal representative afloat. The Chief objective to which Angre's polity was directed to recover Maratha territory occupied by the Sidis during the interval that followed Sambhaji's execution and to teach the Western powers (the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch) to respect Maratha[81] sovereignty on the sea.

The Portuguese did not take kindly the peace treaty between the Marathas and the Sidis. They said in their letter dated 15 May, 1715, addressed to the officer in the Mughal Army that if the Sidi had made some movements by land last year, when the Portuguese besieged Angre by sea at Colaba, it is certain that this rebel would have been annihilated.[82] They also expressed their anger to the Sidis as follows :

If your highness had not cherished so much friendship for this pirate, you would have cooperated with (us), with your ships and men for his destruction and ruin two years ago. A month later (in June, 1715) the Viceroy wrote to Asad Alikhan offering him naval assistance for the destruction of the Angria.[83]

The Portuguese did not rely on the Muhammadan alone for the destruction of their enemy Angre. They approached Sambhaji Raja of Kolhapur, his former patron, who was hurt by the Angre for offering his allegiance to Shahu Maharaj. The Chhatrapati of Kolhapur willingly concluded an alliance with the Portuguese on 23rd March, 1716 to help each other in case of war against the Angre and punish him.[84]

It does not appear that this new alliance had the desired effect, for Chhatrapati Sambhaji of Kolhapur was hardly competent to deal with a "maritime power which had defied the efforts alike of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Marathas."[85] Besides the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English merchants had also suffered at his hands and they made repeated attempts to reduce his power and destroy his fleet. In 1713 the English concluded a peace with Kanhoji Angre and the outstanding differences were settled apparently for good and to the satisfaction of the contracting powers. But the lasting peace was disturbed by Charles Boone, Governor of Bombay, by attacking Khanderi of Kenery, a small island which a commands to certain extent the harbour of Bombay, on 3rd November, 1718.[86] This island

was occupied by Shivaji the great in 1679 and was transferred to Kanhoji's care in 1713.[87] Boone's expedition against Khanderi lasted eight days. He was successfully beaten back by Kanhoji, thus Boone's expedition ended in failure.[88] In the same year (1718), an engagement took place off Anjediv, between Angre's vessels and the two Portuguese ships. After a Stubborn fight the Angre was defeated.[89] In the same year the King of Ramnager invaded the villages of Daman, capturing cattle and talking the cultivators of the soil as prisoners. The Portuguese force went in pursuit of them and drove the invaders. The Raja was killed by a fall from his horse. His nephew, who succeeded him sought for peace which was accordingly agreed to.[90]

The Portuguese came to know of the Angre's policy of aggression in 1721. The Portuguese and the British concluded a treaty in which a mention was made that Kolaba when taken, was to be the property of the Portuguese and the fortress of Gheris* thirty leagues to the North of Goa was to be handed over to the English.[91] A few days before the treaty of alliance was concluded, the Angre wrote to the general of the North, Dom Antonie De Castro a Mello, to say that he was aware of the understanding between the Portuguese and the English against him that he would resist them with 20,000 troops of his own. But finally he prevailed upon the general to settle the differences with him amicably without provoking war.[92]

The Viceroy sailed from Goa with his fleet and arrived on 1st December, 1721 at Chaul. The troops from the Northern provinces join him there. The English fleet also joined them.[93]

The combined forces marched under the protection of their guns to a camp on the river Alibag. Here they found the Angre entrenched himself. So the Viceroy moved up the river and encamped on the heights within the range of enemy; whereupon an artillery duel commenced. On the 23rd December, 1721, Angre's army marched as if to attack the Portuguese position but it was silenced.[94] Now Kanhoji found it difficult to cope up with the combined force of Portuguese, English and the Sidis and defeat them. He therefore requested Shahu Maharaj to send succour to him. So Bajirao Peshwa was deputed to Alibag to aid the Angre. On 30 December, 1721, Bajirao I stationed 7000 of cavalry at Alibag for the protection of the town.[95] On 1st January, 1722 Bajirao informed the Portuguese that his Chhatrapati was a friend of the Portuguese and that in his capacity as the Prime Minister he would help Kanhoji. He also said that for the protection of Kanhoji, he was ready to make war or peace with the Portuguese whatever was necessary.[96]

Knowing that he would be helpless before the Maratha forces, the Portuguese Viceroy agreed to give up hostilities pending negotiations.[97] Kanhoji now became so inflated that he boasted of easily capturing the Portuguese owned Chaul and Karanja. Within ten years he became the owner of Suvarnadurg and 22 forts. An ex-Governor of the Portuguese who was sailing from Chaul to Bassein in a **pala** was attacked by Kanhoji on the seas, captured and killed. Twenty six Portuguese made captive by him were taken to Koalba and beheaded.[98]

After a conference lasting several days, a treaty of friendship between the Portuguese and the Marathas was concluded, but it did not last long.[99] On 26th November, 1723, Pillaji Jadhav, at the head of 40,000 horsemen invaded the Portuguese territory of Bassein, Soibana and Gokhirve.[100] By way of retaliation the Portuguese plundered a number of villages in the Maratha territory. After receipt of a letter from Bajirao I, the Portuguese made peace with him on 10th January, 1724, by the Treaty of Varsoli.[101]

It was suggested by the Portuguese Officer at Bassein to the Viceroy of Goa on 5th December, 1728, that the Marathas should be paid a small gift of Rs. 2500 every year to avoid damage that the Portuguese had to suffer every year from Maratha depredations in Daman territory as was done by the Portuguese to the Chauthiya Raja.[103]

Although a peace treaty was concluded between the Portuguese and the Maratahs on the 10th January, 1724,[104] the Portuguese had a fear that the Marathas would invade Bassein territory to recover tribute. This fear was not unfounded. In May, 1728, Pilaji Jadav plundered two Portuguese villages in the vicinity of Daman.[105] In retaliation, the General of Bassein attacked Kalyan in August and resorted to arson. The Portuguese Viceroy wrote that as a result of this assault on Kalyan, Bajirao came down and made a treaty at Bassein. There is reference to a treaty between the Portuguese and Bajirao-I.[106] In 1728, Ramchandra Chaskar died and was succeeded by his brother Krishnarao Mahadeo. He was man of querulous temperament, his regime of three years was failure.[107] In 1729, Kanhoji Angre died.[108] The Portuguese who were the Angre's captives were released on the day of his death.[109]

Although the Portuguese had outwardly shown regard to Bajirao-I, their tyranical behaviour with their Hindu subjects continued unabated. They made forcible conversions and stopped all religions practices of the Hindus by demolishing their temples and building churches instead. Hindu children when found alone were

often stolen and converted to christianity. Their cruelties compelled many Hindus to leave their homlands and come to seek shelter in Maharashtra. To save the situation and liberate the Hindu from the Portuguese tyranny. Bajirao I was approached by Antaji Raghunath and Ramchandra Raghunath Desai and Deshpande of Mahad, In 1730. They impressed upon him the need for a speedy action against the Portuguese. Thereupon Bajirao deputed Pilaji Jadhav early in 1731 against the Portuguese and despatched his brother-in-law Krishnaji Mahadeo to help him. Jadhav carried war in the enemy's country and captured two Portuguese ships and some ammunition from the Kambe rivulet.[110] He also captured the Portuguese post of Kambe on 24th May, 1731.[111] Therefore, the Portuguese got help of 700 soldiers from the English. The English General plunged in operation with their ships which arrived at such an opportune time that the Marathas gave up the plan to reach the island of Salsette.[112] The Marathas thought of capturing the Portuguese territory.[113] With this plan in mind, they assiduosly thought of occupying some mountain place where they could safely and conveniently subsist.[114]

"On the 1st March, they gained possession of the neighbouring country of fort and cut off the water supply of the fort. In spite of the heavy fire from the town the Marathas succeeded in constructing entrenchments within pistol-shot, but reinforecements arriving from Bassein on 5th March obliged them to abandon the siege and retired to the hills. Here they were attacked by the Portuguese and suffered several casualties."[115]

At this time the Marathas were in an embarrassing situation. In the North they were engaged with the Mughals and Nizam. These engagements came in their way to come down to Konkan. To overcome these difficulties, Bajirao-I proposed a treaty of peace with the Portuguese. The Portuguese knew that the Marathas were so powerful that they made the Mughals restless and their proposal for a peace treaty was not out of their weaknes.[116] Even then "on 2nd October, 1731, a force of 208 Portuguese and 562 sepoys arrived at Trumbe and attacked the village of Panvel belonging to the Marathas, drove them out and set the palce on fire.[117]

The Maratha envoy came to Bombay with peace proposal. A conference for peace was held in Bombay on 30th January 1732 in the presence of Robert Cowan, the Governor of Bombay.[118] In their negotiations on 30-1-1732 with the Portuguese for a peace treaty the Marathas did not give up two conditions : One was that the Portuguese should pay them the same tribute that they were paying to Chautiya

Raja and Koli Raja and the other was that they must allow the *Hindus* in Portuguese territory to build temples.[119] From the Marathas side conference was attended by Shivram Pant and Rayaji Ramji who were deputed by Appaji Pant, Governor of Kalyan.[120] The Portuguese side was represented by Sinhor Martinho de Silva de Menozes captain general of the forts and lands of the North.[121] Bajirao was forced finally to give up the above mentioned two conditions and on 10 February, 1732, a treaty between the Marathas and the Portuguese was signed.[122] The invasion of Bassein in 1730 was largly the result of the efforts of Ganesh Naik of Anjur.[123]

Notes & References

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6. Khobrekar, "Shivaji Maharaj - A Sea King", article published in "Lokrajya," 1st April, 1980, pp.40-41.
7. Parvate, op.cit., p.36.
8. Sen, Studies in Indian History, pp.12-13.
9. Parvate, op.cit., p.37.
10. Ibid. p.39.
11. Kakodkar, Portuguese and Marathas, p.6.
12. Ibid. p.7.
13. Parvate, op.cit., p.36.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid. p.37.

* Vice-Roi - A Portuguese term for Viceroy.

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17. Wakaskar, Sabhasadachi Bakhar, p.71.
18. Parvate, op.cit. p.43.
19. Ibid., p.44

* Desai, M.I.S. (Portuguese Daftar) Vol.3, p.11.

20. Parvate, op.cit., p.48.
21. Balkrishna on the authority of a letter from the Dutch, states that Shivaji carried away 1600 captives, Shivaji I, p.573.
22. Ibid., p.575.
23. Sarkar, Shivaji, p.352.
    Dr. Balkrishna, Shivaji Vol.I, p.507.

24. Dr. Balkrishna, op.cit., p.573.
25. Balkrishna, Shivaji, Vol.I, p.574.
26. Parvate, op.cit., p.54.
27. Wakaskar, Sabhasadachi Bakhar, p.27.
ELLIOT and Dowson, Vol.VII, Khafikhan, p.260.
28. Bendre, Coronation of Shivaji the gtreat, pp.35-43.
29. Balkrishna, Shivaji, Vol.II, part I, pp.139-140.
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31. Parvate, op.cit., p.57.
32. Chauthai means a fourth part of the revenue. After the Sultans of Gujrat had conquered Daman, the people of Daman used to pay 25% of the revenue from the villages to the Rajput Princes (Known as Sarset) in order that they should not molest them. After Daman passed to the Portuguese hands the Rajput princes continued to recover it from the people as they had done before. This led to brawls and skimishes between the Portuguese and the forces of the Chauthia Raja. The Portuguese made agreement to pay the tax in cash to the representative of the Raja at Daman, Parvate, op.cit., p.58.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., p.59.
35. Ibid., p.60.
36. A.V. Joshi and Aba Chandorkar, Shri Shiv Shahicha Lekhanalankar, p.31; the tax was a fixed cess per Khandi of grain to be recovered from peasants in all villages, Parvate, op.cit. p.61.
37. Ibid., p.61.
38. Parvate, op.cit., p.77.
39. Ibid., p.78.
40. Ibid., p.79.
41. Ibid., p.80.
42. Ibid., p.81.
43. Gokhale, Sambhaji, p.169.
44. Ibid.
45. Sarkar, Aurangzib, IV, p.226.
46. Danvers, Portuguese in India, Vol.II, p.370.
47. Gokhale, Sambhaji, pp.173-174.
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48. Parvate, op.cit., p.82.
49. Ibid., p.82.
50. Sarkar, Aurangzib, IV p.227.

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52. Ibid. p.228.
53. F.R.Surat, 109, Bombay to Surat, 8 Oct. 1683;
Sarkar, Aurangzib, IV, p.228.
54. Ibid., pp. 274-75.
Parvate, op.cit. p.25.
55. Manucci, Storia Do Mogor, II, pp.246-248.
56. Shivacharitra Pradip, p.33.
57. Pagadi, Studies in Maratha History, Vol.II, L.15, p.32.
58. Ibid., L.39, p.46.
59. Ibid., L.37, p.46.
60. Parvate, op.cit., pp.104-105.
61. Pagadi, op.cit., L.39, p.47.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., L.37, p.46.
64. Ibid., L.38, p.46.
65. Matabar Khan was ordered by the Emperor to pay two lakhs rupees as compensation for the damages to the Portuguese, Pissurlencar, op.cit., p.105.
66. Sen, The Millitary System of the Marathas, pp.155-56, A letter dt. 3rd April, 1700, addressed to the Sidi of Janjira by the Portuguese is quoted in full by Sen in which the Portuguese conclude that they were the Sovereign of the Seas and not the pirates.
67. Sen, Early Career of Kanhoji Angria and other Papers, p.9. This practice was continued by his successors. This was one of the reasons for the antagonism of European powers especially the English for the Angre.
68. Sect. Outward Letter Book 7, L. dt. 14-1-1700, pp.110-1. Bombay Gazateer, Vol.XI, (Kolaba), p.146.
In a letter dated 14th January, 1700 it is noted that there were several skirmishes between the Sidis and the Marathas.
69. Sect. Outward Letter Book 7, 6 March, 1700, p.132.
70. Rajwade, op.cit., Vol.16, No.35.
71. Parvate, op.cit., p.107.
72. Sect. Outward Letter Book 7, p.140.
73. Avalaskar, Angrekalin Ashtagar, p.3, note 12.
74. Danvers, Portuguese in India, II, p.375.
75. Mhamai, The Sawants of Wadi and the Portuguese, p.14.
76. Ibid., pp.18-20.
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78. S.P.D., 30 Ls.308, 309; Rajwade, M.I.S. II, p.38.
79. Parvate, op.cit., p.122.
80. Grant Duff, Vol.I, p.344.
81. Grant Duff, Mahratta History, Vol.I, p.344.
82. Sen, Studies in Indian History, p.81.
83. Ibid., p.81
84. Ibid., p.82-83.
85. Ibid., p.84.
86. Sen, Early career of Kanhoji Angria and other papers, p.14.
87. Sen, Millitary System of the Marathas, p.199.
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90. Ibid.
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* Vijaydurg.
92. Ibid., p.391.
93. Ibid., pp.391-2.
94. Danvers, op.cit., II, p.392.
95. Avalaskar, Angrekalin Ashtagara, p.7;
Parvate, op.cit., p.124.
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104. Ibid.,
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107. Ibid., But the author Pissurlencar says that the treaty is not traceable.
108. Dighe, Peshwa Bajirao-I, p.165.
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111. Kelkar, Vasaichi Mohim, pp.46-47.
112. Parvate, op.cit., pp.127-128.

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114. Kakodkar, op.cit., p.175.
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117. Danvers, op.cit., pp.398-400.
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119. Parvate, op.cit., p.128.
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121. Kakodkar, op.cit., p.179.
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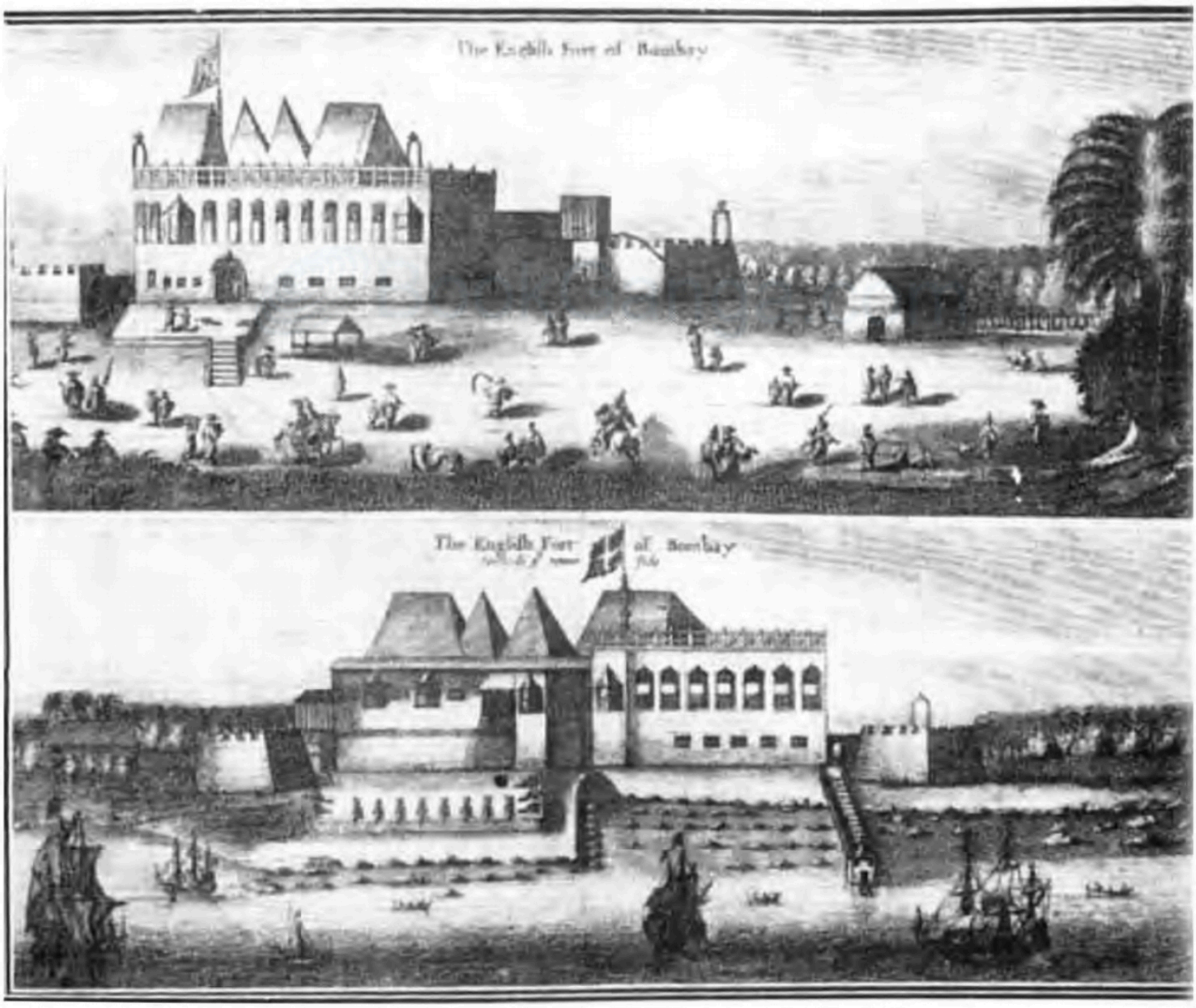

The English Fort at Bombay.

Chapter - VI

OCCUPATIONS OF THE KONKAN TERRITORY BY THE MARATHAS (1707-1756)

It was well known that the coastal strip of Maharashtara or Konkan formed a part of Shivaji's swaraj. Two powers-the Sidis of Janjira and the Portuguese of Goa - held out against him clinging to their small maritime possessions. But we have seen that during the interregnum of Shivaji's death in 1680 and Shahu's homecoming in 1707, the Marathas were fighting the Mughals, for their very existence and these two powers had seized the outlying Maratha territory in Konkan and refused to surrender it after the withdrawal of the Mughals. The drafts treaty which was sent with Balaji Vishawanath to Husain Ali Sayyid in 1713 contained as its first article, restoration of the forts like Raigad, Miraj, Junnar, Kalyan and Bhiwandi with their surrounding districts. The Sidis had been put in possession of the important fortresses of Raigad, Dabhol and Rantnagiri by Aurangzeb. However, the Sidi on his own, had occupied Revas, Thal and Anjanvel from which, they harassed Maratha ships and sent raiding parties inside Maratha territory.[1]

When Shahu came to the Deccan, after his release by the Mughals, Tarabai waged a war against him. In that Kanhoji sided Tarabai and waged a war against Chhatrapati Shahu and even imprisoned the Peshwa, Bahiropant Pingle. Immediately Shahu understood the importance of naval power of the Angre and to win him over to his side he deputed Balaji Viswanath, the new Peshwa, to reconcile with the Angre. Balaji Vishwanath had passed the early days of his life under the domination of the Sidi. Balaji belonged to the Bhat family of Shrivardhan who were the hereditary Deshmukhs of Danda-Rajapur since the time of Malik Ambar.[2] When the region came under the influence of the Sidis the Bhat family being hereditory Deshmukhs of the region, had to owe allegiance to the Sidis.[3] Thus Balaji, having hailed from Konkan, was known to Kanhoji and had friendship with him. In the meeting that took place between Balaji

Vishwanath and Kanhoji, the former appointed him as Sarkhel or admiral on behalf of Shahu. A draft agreement was drawn on 18th February, 1714 by which the exchange of forts took place. Kanhoji received Rajmachi, Khanderi and recognition of possessing twenty-six strongholds in the Konkan, some of which were in the hands of the Sidis. It was also agreed that every year from Dasra till the month of Margashirsha (i.e. from October to December) the Peshwa should undertake campaign against all of Kanhoji's enemies and to regard them as his enemies.[4]

The consequences of the treaty are of great importance. It involved Shahu Chhatrapati and the Maratha state in the conflicts between Kanhoji and his enemies - the Sidis, the English and the Portuguese. The Sidi also was the enemy of the Maratha State. In the days following the execution of Sambhaji the Sidis invaded the Maratha main land during the year 1708-10.[5] The people ran away as the Sidies invaded the basin of the Mutha.[6] The Sidis made vigorous efforts to destroy the Maratha power especially Kanhoji Angre but achieved nothing. The Sidis captured the fort of Padmadurga or Kansa at the month of Rajaputi creek and sent the golden key of the fort to the Mughal Emperor in 1710. The Emperor honoured him and sent him robes of honour.[7]

When Kanhoji Angre was at cross-purposes with Shahu, the Sidis, took this opportunity and captured the fort of Suvarnadurga by assault.[8] Balaji Vishwanath lost no time in executing the clause agreed by him in the agreement concluded with Kanhoji.[9] Balaji Vishwanath in person led an expedition alongwith Kanhoji Angre and invaded the territories of Sidi Suralkhan[10] and forced him to agree to the terms of treaty entirely beneficial to the Marathas (30th January, 1715). By the terms of the treaty, it was decided that the Sidis should allow the Kamavisdars of Shahu to realize half the revenue of the village of Goregaon, Gowal, Nizampur, Nagothana, Ashtami, Pali, Ashare and Antone, which were in the possession of the Sidis.[11] According to the agreement, Sidi Suralkhan also handed over to the Marathas the following eleven forts :- (1) Surgad (2) Pratapgad (3) Yashwantgad (4) Bankot (5) Kondana (6) Khupgad (7) Pattedurga (8) Kuturgad (9) Vijaydurga (10) Muktargad (11) Mandangad.[12]

Thus the dispute between the Sidis and the Marathas was settled to the advantage of the Marathas. The Sidis were deprived of their power and prestige, were completely humbled down. They dared not raise their head against the Marathas till 1725. Hence we have the complaints of the Portuguese to the Mughal Emperor of the criminal

indifference of the Sidis towards the Marathas.[13] During the period there was no major conflict. But they (Sidis) continued to harass the Hindu of the Konkan and often committed outrages on them.[14] In 1724 Sidi Yakutkhan attack Kolaba with armed ships. But Kanhoji bought him off with plenty of money and made peace with him.[15] We now understand from the Portuguese sources that Kanhoji entered into a pact with Shahu to capture the fort of Raigad from the Sidi for which Chhatrapati Shahu sent 500 select cavalry to assist Angre. The Sidi got scent of this and made perfect preparations to defend the fort and the Marathas were compelled to abandon the project for sometime.[16]

Sidi's instigation :

The Nizam saw that Bajirao was away in Karnatak. Therefore, in April, 1725, he instigated the Sidi to ravage the Maratha territory below the fort of Palkhed. Accordingly this was done by the Sidis instantly.[17] Now the Marathas were bound by honour and obligation to punish him and stop his further depredation for, according to their treaty of 1719 with the Emperor, the Marathas were pledged to keep peace in Konkan which was included in the Deccan.[18] The Sidi's fleet appeared before Kolaba early in 1725.

The English of Bombay also were ready to help the Sidi as it is understood from the President's[19] report of 1724, "that the Sidi Sat of Anjanvel or Dabhol has at Sundry times sent off, to our vessels provision and refreshments while cruising off that port and been otherwise very courteous in his advices in relation to Angria, in order to keep his friendship he may be given a present of three yards of scarlet cloth, a pair of pistols and gilt sword." Though Kanhoji had successfully held his own against the Sidi, he was unable to wrest the Swarajya territory from him. So Kanhoji sought the help of Shahu Maharaj who in return advised him to wait for his help which would be sent to him after Dasra festival (October 1726).[20] Shahu Maharaj could not send the promised help as the Maratha forces were engaged in the Karnatak expeditions. However, Kanhoji captured Palkhade fort in 1729, in the same year Kanhoji expired in July. The Marathas were continuing the war against Sidi. At this time an incident took place which flared up the war between the Marathas and the Sidi. Bramendra Swami Dhawadshikar had gone to Karnataka for collecting alms from his followers in the Karnatak in 1726. While he was going to the Karnataka the Sidi Set of Anjanwel requested him to bring with him from Savanur-Nabab an elephant which was given by the Nabab to the Sidi as a gift. The Swami took upon himself the

responsibility of carrying the elephant safe to Anjanwel by obtaining permit for the passage of the elephant from the Angre, through whose territory the Swami had to travel. On arriving at Vishalgad, he entered in the territory of Kanhoji Angre from whom he didn't obtain a permit as the Angre was his devoted admirer. Therefore, without any tension he sent the elephant ahead and himself followed leisurely.

When the elephant reached on the border of the Angre's territory, the officer's of the Angre discovered that the elephant belonged to the Sidi and had no permit from their chief. Therefore they seized it and sent it to Jaigad.

When this news reached the Sidi he got enraged for his elephant being detained by the Angre and dispatched some troops to Jaigad for its release but they were put to flight, by the Angre's troops. This added fuel to fire and the Sidi suspecting the Swami's hand (complexity) in the affair led an Army, attacked the temple of Parshueram on the Shivaratri day when huge crowd of men and women had gathered to worship the God Shiva. He desecrated and destroyed the temple and stripped it of all its wealth. The people and the Priests were subjected to torture. In the meantime the Swami got the elephant released from Kanhoji and sent it to the Sidi. But when he came to know of the outrage of Sidi he cursed him. On seeing the ruin of Parashuram temple he got disgusted and left the Konkan and came to the Desh. The chief Sidi, Yakut of Janjira, was also Swami's disciple and came to know of the outrages committed by his officers. He deeply regretted the acts and ordered Sidi Sat to restore all the wealth he had taken from the temple and promised to rebuild it.[21] Kanhoji Angre also pleaded with the Swami to remain in the Konkan. Accordingly, the Swami remained for another year, but got disgusted with Sidi Sat's continued arrogance and allowed him to go to the Desh.[22] The Angre requested Swami to persuade Bajirao to co-operate with him in the destruction of the Sidi. In 1728 the Swami finally left the Konkan and ascending the ghats went to live in Dhavadashi.[23] There, he was welcome by Shahu Maharaj and his nobles and remained there till the end of his life.

On the arrival of the Swami at Dhavadashi, Shahu Maharaj gave serious thought to an expedition against the Sidi. He deputed the Pratinidhi against the Sidi as Bajirao was entangled the campaign against the Nizam. The other reason for selecting Pratinidhi was that he had Jahagir in Konkan. Pilaji Jadhav was asked to assist him. It was decided that Pilaji Jadhav should march against the Portuguese and prevent them from assisting the Sidi, for the Sidi the Portuguese

were on friendly terms. The Pratinidhi went to Konkan but he went on lingering so much that his help was of on use to the Angre in defeating the Sidi. In the meantime Bajirao got victory over the Nizam in March 1728. It was reported to Bajirao that the Pratinidhi had achieved nothing in the Konkan. He wasted his time in Konkan without accomplishing anything. Owing to the death of Kanhoji in 1729 the Sidi grew very defiant and took advantage of the family squabbles to increase his power.[24] Early in 1730 the campaign was renewed and the Pratinidi was asked to march towards Kolaba and Ratnagiri[25] and Pilaji was sent towards Kalvan against the Portuguese. Pratinidhi's attempt was futile.[26] The Pratinidhi requested Shahu Maharaj from his camp at Konkan to recall him back. Accordingly, the Pratinidhi was soon recalled and given the command of the troops against Sambhaji of Kolhapur in November 1730. In 1730-31, the affairs of the Konkan fell into disorder on account of quarrels between Sekhoji and Sambhaji, the two sons of Kanhoji Angre. In 1731 the trouble was fomented by Bajirao and Brahmendra Swami to weaken Angre's power. In 1731, after quarreling with his brother Sekhoji, Sambhaji went to Suvarnadurga, South of Kolaba and made it the head quarters of the his fleet. Shahu Maharaj failed to bring reconciliation between them; Sekhoji Angre joined Peshwa Bajirao against Shripatrao Pratinidhi in 1732.[27] Due to this quarrel the operation of the Marathas in the Konkan was seriously hampered and that was the advantage to the Sidi.[28] So far, the affairs of the Konkan remained insettled. Bajirao became free by the end of 1732 after the final settlement with Nizam in August 1731 and victory over Dabhade. So he resolved to take up the affairs of the Konkan in his hand. It was his intention to be Supreme in the Konkan by liquidating the Sidi, the Portuguese and the Angre.

Once again in 1732 Shripatrao Pratinidhi was sent in Konkan by Shahu Maharaj. Sekhoji Angre asked his assistant Bankoji Naik to help the Pratinidhi. In March of that year the Pratinidhi seize to Anjanwel and about the same time Bankoji Naik engaged Sidi Sat in a tough fight in Chiplun and defeated him. From Chiplun he passed on to Govalkot which he wanted to invest but he met the Pratinidhi who advised him to desist from the attack as the Sidi had promised him to pay his respects to Shahu Maharaj at Satara and stop the war provided the Angre was driven out of the Konkan.[29] Bankoji Naik went back to his chief Sekhoji Angre to speak the mind of the Pratinidhi.[30]

The Pratinidhi got completely disillusioned when the Sidi started constantly harassing him by changing friendship into enmity against

the Pratinidhi.[31] When Shahu Maharaj heard about the Pratinidhi's performance he got sadly disappointed and appointed Bajirao-I to take the Supreme command of Konkan expedition and wrote a stinging letter to Pratinidhi to come back to Satara.[32]

Bajirao undertakes Konkan Campaign :

While deciding to undertake the Konkan campaign Bajirao came to know the death of Sidi Rasul Yakut, the Chief of the Sidi, in February 1733. After his death a serious trouble began with regard to the succession among his sons.

Sidi Yakut had a number of sons of whom Abdulha was the eldest and rightful heir to the throne, but his claim was disputed by his brothers. His seven governors also fished in troubled water. One of them, Shaikh Yakub Khan a Hindu convert was the most capable and recalcitrant. He had proved rebellious even during Yakut Khan's life time.[33] These civil strife's were fomented by Prabhu Sardar Yashwantrao Potnis who had been sent to the Konkan by Shahu Maharaj for that purpose. At the Instigation of Potnis, Sidi Rahaman, the son and rival of Sidi Abdulha fled from Janjira and came to take refuge with Potnis.

Sidi Rahman found that his uncles had shut the gates of the fort against him and had seized his father and murdered him.[34] Sidi Rahman was promised the command of the fleet and a large portion of the possessions of the Sidi for his siding with the Marathas.[35] When the ground was thus prepared Shahu Maharaj gave command to Bajirao about the expedition against the Sidi. The Pratinidhi was also asked to start in advance and Bajirao and Fattesingh Bhosale should follow him with the main body of the army. Bajirao and Fattesingh arrived in Konkan in April 1733 and opened the campaign with great vigour.[36]

The Peshwa arrived in Konkan by the shortest route through the mountainous Bhor country by way of Pali, Kolar near Surgad, Sikare and arrived before Rajpuri on the last day of Baishakh (2nd May, 1733) completing his march within a week.[37] A local Sardar showed the Peshwa, the way to Khokhari Rajkot, Balaraj and Rajpuri which were captured by the Marathas.[38] Later the Sidi's fleet laying in the port was also captured by the Marathas.[39] Shekhji, the powerful Sidi sardar was won over by the Marathas. He sat with the Peshwa at Balaroza at Rajpuri[40] to conduct the operations of the siege. Peshwa Bajirao was aware that to achieve success against Janjira, he should have support of the navy. He, therefore, asked Sekhoji Angre, the Sarkhel, after the death of Kanhoji Angre, to meet him at Pali on his

way to Rajpuri.[41] Thereupon, Sekhoji explained to the Peshwa his difficulties in sending his contingent and joining personally in the compaign.[42] The Sidi's fleet was hand over to him. Sekhoji was with the Peshwa at Rajpuri for fifteen days. He left the Peshwa and arrived at Kolaba on 27.5.1733 via Murd, Mandgaon & Chaul.[43]

As stated earlier, after the execution of Sambhaji, the Sidis had extended their power. Besides Janjira and Underi, the Sidis had in their possession Anjanvel and Gowalkot, (Angre's stronghold). Sidi Sambal and Sidi Amber managed the affairs of Janjira.[44] Sidi Sat had Gowalkot and Anjanvel in his possession. Sidi Ballal was the commandant of Underi.

Bajirao had a clear picture in his mind about the stupendous nature of the Janjira campaign. This is clearly brought out by Bajirao in his letter dated 26th May, 1733 to Abaji Pant Purandare as follows :

"In spite of a number of attempts the Sidi has remained unbeaten. Tremendous efforts are necessary to uproot him. At least fifteen thousand soldiers, half of whom should be match-lookmen, are necessary to besiege him. Formely he had only one fort, now he is more powerful because of the acquisition of Anjanvel and Underi. I suggest that the Pratinidhi and the Sarkhel should capture Anjanvel and Underi respectively. I expect the siege to last for a couple of years.[45]

In the operation against the Sidis, the whole Angre family, viz. Sekhoji's brother Sambhaji's, Manaji together with Laxmibai and Mathurabai (the two widows of Kanhoji), threw themselves whole heartdly into the war as can been seen from the details of the papers, sent by, Laxmibai Angre to Bajirao, about Pratinidhi's dealings with the Sidi, his disagreement with Bankoji Naik and other matters of the campaign. In this letter, she took an important resume of the whole affairs.[46] She had even offered to send supplies to Bajirao according to his desires.[47]

Pratinidhi in Konkan :

It is already said earlier that Shahu Chhatrapati selected the Pratinidhi for Konkan campaign as he had Jagir in Konkan. He was instructed by the Chhatrapati to move to Konkan in April 1733, and Bajirao and Fattesingh Bhosle were to follow him. But the Pratinidhi entered Konkan on 20th May 1733 after Bajirao-I. Shahu Maharaj was anxious to bring Raigad in the Swarajya. Raigad fort was very strong and it could not be conquered with the help of the forces. Bajirao tried to play intrigues on the authorities of Raigad.[48] On the 26th May, 1733 he wrote to Ambaji pant Purandare, "It is likely that

Raigad would come in our possession through negotiations if not, by force 1500 to 2000 soldiers would be required to capture[49] it."

To conquer Raigad, a force of 700 to 800 troops of Bajirao encamped at Pachad and remained there by establishing Chawk exerting pressure and occupying the fort. Fattesingh Bhosle's soldiers also came to Pachad to help Bajirao. Fattesingh declared, that with permission of Shahu Maharaj he had come to Pachad to capture Raigad.[50] The Pratinidhi did not speak his mind about Raigad. The Pratinidhi arrived at Pachad in the beginning of the 1733. He was given the leadership and was assigned the task of achieving Raigad by any means.[51] The Peshwa had sent a force of 800 to Raigad.[52] The place was too strong for the small tha force operating against it. The Killedar agreed to surrender the fort to the Marathas on a promise of a good sum. Shahu Maharaj dispatched 200 Maratha troops with the assure. Hearing about the deal and the receipt of money, the Sidis ordered the treasure that had been carried to Raigad for the sent to the Killedar.[53] The Pratinidhi, who was in league with Jaywantrao Potnis, had Shahu Maharaj's explicit orders to capture Raigad.[54] By making fresh overtures to the Killedar, the Pratinidhi got possession of Raigad on 8.6.1733.[55] This was highly admired, their honour was thus vindicated.

The capture of Raigad was hailed at Satara as a great exploit. warm praises from Shahu Chhatrapati and the entire Court, were showered on Pratinidhi. From Raigad, the Pratinidhi had been directed by Chhatrapati Shahu to march against Anjanvel, the Sidi's stronghold in the south. Any attempt against Anjanvel without first reducing Gowalkot left the rear of the investing force open to attack. Sidi Sat was the commandant of Gowalkot. Gowalkot assumed special importance on account of its vicinity to the holy shrine of Parshuram, a place sanctified by its association with Brahmendra Swami. It was the duty of the Maratha force to rescue Parshuram from the persecution and humiliation, the deity had fered from the Sidi earlier. The Pratinidhi marched from Chiplun (of which Gowalkot was the port) exhorting Angres' officers to co-operate with him.[56] The Angre's officers, Diwan Raghunath and Bankoji Naik Mahadik, were helping the siege of Gowalkot with a force of 1500 troops.[57] A severe fighting started which was witnessed by the Pratinidhi who hoped to win the battle and one more feather in his cap with the co-operation of Angre's officers. But the intrigues set on foot by the Peshwa vitiated the whole situation. Regarding action at Ajanvel, Bajirao suggested to Sekhoji that it should be taken after rainy season when the sailing of the fleet

into the water and the movements of the military force by land would be done smoothly. Sekhoji agreed to Bajirao's plan of preventing the Pratinidhi from going against Anjanvel.[58] The Peshwa proposed to Sekhoji three alternatives for embarking on the Konkan campaign. Sekhoji thereupon requested Bajirao to take the command to the force. In a letter dt. 21.6.1733, Sekhoji stated as follows :-

"Unless the sole charge of the campaign is given to one single commander with full control, you will be unsuccessful. You must take the full responsibility on yourself with me at your side to serve and assist you. If it so happens what is impossible of attainment ? It is immaterial whether the war lasts for one year or two or whether it costs one lakh or ten and whether the British, the Portuguese and the Mughal officials at Surat render neval succour to the Sidi. With all these dangers we can confidently in them over, provided you take the lead personally."[59] The Pratinidhi's advance in the Anjanvel quarter was looked on with disfavour by Sekhoji Angre. His views encouraged by the Peshwa. So Sekhoji approved the proposal of the Peshwa in not allowing the Pratinidhi to have any share in the capture of Anjanvel. He took the decision of not sending any assistance to the Pratinidhi. Sekhoji wrote to the Peshwa saying that he did not like the idea of the Pratinidhi taking the credit of capturing Anjanvel as was done by him in the case with Raigad.[60] Now the Peshwa with the consent of Sekhoji Angre decided to withhold his detachment and advised his general Mahadik to refuse any kind of assistance to the Pratinidhi.[61] Thereupon, the Peshwa also sent secret agents to the Sidi and encouraged him to fight against the Pratinidhi.[62] Mahadik made it clear to the Pratinidhi that he alone would conduct the siege at Govalkot and that the Pratinidhi should proceed against Anjanvel.[63]

The Pratinidhi did not agree to Mahadik's plan and insisted in joint action against both places and occupying them in the name of Shahu Maharaj. Mahadik, therefore, left the scene according to the instructions of his master Sekhoji and marched back with this troops to Suvarnadurg.[64] Now Sidi Sat of Gowalkot came to know the differences among the Maratha generals and decided to take advantage of them. When Pratinidhi arrived at Chiplun, Sidi Sat met him and showed his anxiousness to take Shahu Maharaj's service by surrendering the two places (Gowalkot and Rajpuri by negotiations. As the Pratinidhi had succeeded at Raigad, he thought he would do the same with Gowalkot. The Sidi 's preliminary condition for starting negotiations was that the Angre's force should be withdrawn from its threatening position. The Pratinidhi at once ordered Mahadik,

Angre's commander, to give up the siege. When this was done, Sidi Sat played a successful game and kept the Pratinidhi busy in prolonged negotiations and agreed to deliver the place after four months, thereby making it clear that he was choosing his time.[65] In the meantime the monsoon started with fury making all war-like operations impossible. The Pratinidhi soon realized that he had been out witted by the Sidi and started preparations for laying siege to the fort.

Sidi seeks the help of European Nations :

The four months of the inoperative season proved a welcome respite for the Sidi. He made urgent appeals to the English, to the Portuguese, and his colleagues at Surat and even to Nizam Ul Mulk and to the Emperor of Delhi for help. To ward off Maratha attack and to check the growth of Maratha power at Underi, which was situated in the neighbourhood of Bombay harbour, the Bombay government decided to capture Underi fortress by hoisting their flag on it. Accordingly they did. The Sidi wanted to take posession of it. The English declared themselves ready to restore the fortress of Underi to the city provided the latter was willing to repay all the expenses incurred by the British Company. The English took measures to fortify the fortress for defending it against the possible attack of the Marathas.

Bajirao also predicted that the Sidis, would get help from the English and the Mughals.[66] So when besieging Rajpuri, Bajirao at first wrote in the name of the Raja of Satara to the President and the Council at Bombay that he would not permit the English fleet to interfere with his operations.[67] While the Sidi demanded aid from the English against Raja Shahu, Sekhoji Angre, on behalf of Raja Shahu, sent envoys to the President complaining about the misbehaviour of the Sidi of Danda Rajpuri. The envoys complained that by force of arms the Sidis had possessed themselves of several ports in Raja Shahu's possession and in order to regain them an army had been sent under the command of Fattesingh Bhosle.[68] The Maratha envoys convinced the English that Raja Shahu's intention was to make himself master of all the seaports and fortress which were formerly in the possession of the Sidi.[69] This shows a clear sign of the growing importance of the English at Bombay. The two letters written in the first week of June 1733, speak of the English at Bombay helping the Sidi and of navy coming from Surat.[70] Sekhoji Angre informed Bajirao-I on 21.8.1733 how the British navy of Bombay was going out to help the Sidi.[71]

In the meantime the English were asked by Shah-Shamuddaula, an officer of the Mughal Emperor, that alongwith the Portuguese

they should help the Sidis against the Marathas. The English replied that they would be glad to do so hoped that they would get back the expenses incurred by them.[72]

The Maratha army had reduced the power of the Sidis to a great extent. The Sidis were paid an annual Jagir of three lakhs of Rupees by the Mughal Government for the protection of their trade at Surat. As the Sidis were not powerful enough to protect the Mughal trade, the English thought of acquiring the Jagir by making overtures to Tegbeg Khan and undertaking the responsibility of protecting the Mughal trade.[73] The English at Bombay rejoiced when the Governor of Surat proposed that he would secure the necessary firman from the Mughal Emperor in the name of the English.[74] Sekhoji Angre was quite alert and he informed the Mughals that instead of giving Jagir to the Sidis who were already broken, it should be given to him so that "he would take care to protect the trade of his port against all the enemies and then concludes that he expects an immediate answer, and that he may concert his measures accordingly."[75]

It is already said that after the capture of Raigad, the Pratinidhi moved towards Gowalkot and Anjanwel. A small force of Sekhoji Angre under Diwan Raghunath Hari and Bankoji Naik Mahadik was operating against the Sidi. Before the end of May 1733 they had wrested Mandangad from the hands of the Sidis.[76] On 6th July, 1733, Bankoji Naik Mahadik assaulted and captured Vijaygad.[77] On his way to Anjanwel from Suvarndurg, Bankoji Naik Mahadik learnt that the Sidi Sat again intended to desecrate the shrine of Parshuram. Babaji Naik Mahadik advanced to Gowalkot. Sidi Set with 12 to 15 hundred soldiers attacked the Marathas. Out numbered by the Sidis, the Marathas were on the verge of defeat. However, Bankoji Naik rallied his forces and repelled the enemy Vigorously. The Sidi forces ran away.[78]

On 30th July, the Pratinidhi received reinforcements from Vishalgad.[79] On the very day Gangadhar Pant, brother of Pratinidhi, attacked Sidi's out post. The Sidi took refuge in the fort. So Pratinidhi ordered an assault on the fort. The result was that the Sidi repulsed the attack with heavy losses. Thus the Pratinidhi was defeated by the Sidi.[80] The Pratinidi complained against the attitude of the Peshwa and the Angre to Shahu.[81] Thereafter, the Sidi attacked the outpost occupied by the Pratinidhi. The Marathas got defeated and abandoned the out post.[82]

The Pratinidhi contacted Sambhaji Angre for the help of his fleet. But as Sambhaji was already instructed by Sekhoji not to help

the Pratinidhi, under the instructions from the Peshwa, Sambhaji refused to help him.[83]

The Pratinidhi achieved success against the Sidis on 23rd September, 1733. In an encounter with the force of Chawan, the Sidis were defeated and were pursued by the Marathas upto the trenches.[84]

The Pratinidhi planned a decisive attack on 5th October, 1733. When the Marathas attacked Gowalkot, they had to face heavy fire from the fort. The forces under Pratinidhi fled at the sight of the Sidi's ships. The Sidi force landed and the Maratha force was attacked in front as well as in the rear and thus they were defeated with heavy losses.[85] A force which was sent to surprise Anjanwel, returned without achieving anything.[86] On 25th October, 1733, the Pratinidhi raised the siege of Gowalkot and returned to Satara.[87] This shows that no organised efforts were made by Bajirao to uproot the Sidi from Konkan.

On the 13th July, the English also decided to send help to Sidis consisting of one Lieutenant, two Engineers, four sergeants, four Corporals, forty Europeans Musketeers and Sixty topasses, six nine pounders, six pouders, sixty barrels of powder, one hundred spare muskets and sundry other stores.[88] This was against the promise they gave to the Angres' envoy Babaji Balal, who was deputed to Bombay[89] at that time. Bajirao got this information of the English help to the Sidi. Therefore, in August, he wrote to Shahu Maharaj thus : "The Sidi is not an ordinary enemy; you know how often in the past, heroic attempts to humble him have failed. A tremendous effort is necessary if he is to be finally overcome. Without a complete naval blockade combined with carefully arranged operations by land, it is not possible to overcome him. This means enormous expenditure of money, which is not available. We need at least fifteen thousand expert footmen for an effort of this kind, working through a period of at least two years. Janjira is receiving support from Anjanwel and Underi; these places must be secured, before an attack on his principal strong hold could succeed. We have already exhausted all our money and resources so that unless you send us ample funds at once, we cannot make any movement. We are putting forth our utmost effort, but that is not enough. The Sidis are getting help from Surat and Bombay also. The Pratinidhi has not come to Rajpuri. I await further orders"[90] from Bajirao's letter we note that he was aware of the strong, almost invincible position of the Sidi.[91]

Had Shahu left this matter to Bajirao by giving supreme command and not guiding and making and remaking appointments

of the Military Commanders from a distant place like Satara, the result would have been different. There was no uniformity of policy, neither organised strategy. Perhaps because of this, Bajirao was in favour of settlement with the Sidis.

In June 1733 Bajirao came to know that the Nizam had sent robes of honour to Sidi Sat[92] and a help from the English at Bombay[93] on request from the Sidi. Bajirao also came to know from Sekhoji Angre the details of the Portuguese succour to the Sidis.[94] So Bajirao addressed a detailed letter to Shahu Maharaj informing him of the combination and consolidation of the enemies to defeat the Marathas and suggesting a peace treaty with the Sidi through the mediation of the Nizam.[95]

A short time after this letter had been written, Sekhoji Angre died at Alibag on 28th August, 1733.[96] This had affected adversely the Peshwas' plan of campaign. On the death of Sekhoji, Sambhaji his brother, left Vijaydurg and came to Kolaba and took up the command of the fleet. His relations with the Peshwa were not friendly. Between Sekhoji and Sambhaji there was a long standing feud.[97] As Bajirao had supported Sekhoji, Sambhaji started giving scant respect to the Peshwa's orders. When Sambhaji took command of the Kolaba fleet, the Peshwa asked him to meet him at Rajpuri for personal discussion. Sambhaji declined to meet the Peshwa.[98]

Shahu Maharaj learnt of the Nizam's intriques in favour of the Sidi. Therefore, he asked Chimaji Appa to stay at Poona to keep an eye on the Nizam movements. Intelligence received from Surat that Sidi Masud had decided to join the Sidi of Janjira. Shahu ordered Umabai Dabhade and Damaji Gaikwad of Gujrat to check his progress but they did not make any movement due to their hostilities with Bajirao. To add to this, in September 1733, the British despatched another squadron for the help of the Sidi. The consequence was that the command of the Sea passed into the hands of the Sidi and the English who now entered into an alliance, against the Marathas.[99] Therefore, the English fleet took a menacing position in the Rajpuri creek.[100] The Peshwa now realised the hopelessness of the situation. He wrote to Shahu at Satara how the Marathas had failed to win the war and suggested that Shahu should make approaches to the Sidi for peace.[101] Shahu agreed to Bajirao's proposal and asked the Peshwa to learn from the English, the Sidi's term and deputed his envoy Anandrao Sumat to the Sidi for direct negotiations. The envoy left Satara for Rajpuri on his mission of peace on November 4th.[102] In December 1733, a treaty was concluded near Alibag, according to

which Bajirao recognised Abdul Rahman as a chief of Janjira. According to the treaty Bajirao retained Raigad and Mahad and five and half Mahals of the Sidi; and restored the rest to him.[103] He also agreed not to claim beyond what was in actual possession of the Marathas.[104] The Peshwa returned to Satara on 11th December, 1733.[105]

Since Peshwa Bajirao-I was not accustomed to naval warfare, Sekhoji Angre was his right hand man for a naval battle. In this campaign of 1733, Sekhoji could not supplement the military power of Bajirao with the naval help. But the fault was not his. The campaign started hardly a month before the rainy season. The Western Sea is not navigable for the gallivants during the early monsoons. Hence Sekhoji was unable to help the Peshwa.

While the negotiations were going on Sidi Sat attempted to send men and attack Bankot, but it was frustrated.[106] However, the Sidi of Underi captured Thal on 12th November, 1733.[107] In one of the skirmishes Sidi Yarkhan was killed by Manaji Angre.[108]

Chimaji Appa's Encounter with Sidi Sat :

The agreement was concluded by Chimaji Appa who was on the scene since October, 1733. Although the agreement was concluded, it was from the subsequent events that the Sidis never meant to serve it. As already Said, the English also concluded a treaty with the Sidis on 6th December, 1733, a week after the Maratha nominee Abdul Rahman Sat on the Mansad of Janjira. This treaty was mainly against the Angre. After Bajirao's return to capital the Sidis attacked Bankot and captured it.[109] The force of the Angres who were guarding the outpost escaped to Suvarnadurg. The sidi moved further and captured Mahad.[110]

The news of the attacks of the sidi on the Maratha outposts alarmed Chharapati Shahu.[111] He ordered his Peshwa to despatch forces in Konkan at once to help the garrison of Raigad. He issued orders to Chimaji Appa asking him to encamp near the base of Raigad.[112] The Maratha forces halted at Poladpur on 5th January 1734. Baji Bhivrao Serekar, Maratha commandant, reached Chhatri-Nizampur with his forces on the 9th January 1734.

Sidi amber Afwani fought Valiantly with the Maratha forces on 10th January 1734. The Marathas divided their forces into three units, one under Baji Bhivrao, the second was the Huzarat and the third under Udaji Pawar. At about day break, the battle ensued.[113] The Marathas captured Wadi and Pachad on the same day. Most of the Sidi's men were killed on the battlefield. Udaji Pawar rushed

with his forces in the battle against the Sidis and severed Sidi Amber Afwani's head.[114] Thereafter, the head was carried away by the Marathas. The Palanquin of the Sidi Amber Afwani fell in the Maratha hands. Krishnaji Khatavkar[115] and Javji Lad,[116] the Samobat of Raigad were killed. The Sidis fled to Mahad.

In the detailed letter to the Nizam, Chhatrapati Shahu informed him the Sidi's defeat at Raigad. The Sidi's forces took possession of Mahad and Pachad and thereafter blockaded Raigad. On hearing this news Udaji Pawar, to whom this campaign was assigned, marched against the Sidis. In the battle Sidi Amber Afwani was killed. Later Udaji Pawar captured Pachad.[117]

After the defeat of Sidis's forces at Raigad the Maratha planned an attack on Mahad[118] which was held by Sidi Sat. The Maratha forces marched aganist Anjanvel and Gowalkot,[119] Simultaneously, Sambhaji Angre was also asked by Shahu Chhatrapati to help in the siege of Anjanwel and Gowalkot.[120] As the Sidi returned to Bankot, the Marathas took possession of Mahad on 24th February, 1734.[121]

The Marathas pursued the Sidis, assaulted and captured Bankot on 8th March, 1734.[122] Baji Bhivrao took a prominent part in the action which was described by Chhatrapati Shahu in letter to the Nizam-ul-Mulk as follows :

"As soon as the army of Udaji Pawar arrived after him (Sidi) he exerted himself for five days and storming the fort from all sides, the sepoys carried it. The inhabitants, fearful of their lives fled on board the gallivats, ghurabs, which were without anchors and apparatus; many of which sank from extreme weight and many people were killed and of them there did not remain one sign. Udaji Pawar having taken a large army is pursuing Sidi by land wherever that ill-fortuned may go, there he will fellow."[123]

As soon as Baji Bhivrao took charge of the Bankot fort, the killedar Havji Sedgar ran away. So Baji Bhivrao requested Peshwa to appoint another killedar.[124] At once he undertook repairs and construction work of fort Bankot.[125] In this expedition, the Peshwa's forces were under Baji Bhivrao and Mankar, and the Huzur troops were under the command of four captains, Hari Moreshwar Rajadnya, Shaikh Mira, Lingoji Hawaldar and Deorao Meghashyam the Daroga of the artillery. They were asked to aid the Pratinidhi and Sambhaji Angre in the task.[126] The king had retained direction of this expedition in his hand by sitting at Satara and ordering the Pratinidhi and Sambhaji Angre to take charge of the expedition in absence of Bajirao who had returned to Satara. The Maratha forces sent under the

different captains, as mentioned above, did not have a master to command, Bajirao's forces under the command of Baji Bhivrao were getting orders from the Peshwa and his brother Chimaji Appa.[127] whereas the other Maratha forces of Huzurat were receiving orders from the king and the Pratinidhi.

Sidi Sat began using the old tactics that had worn out the Pratinidi's strength and forced him to abandon the siege. As the Pratinidhi had laid siege to Gowalkot, Baji Bhivrao expressed his intention of investing Anjanwel.[128] But he received orders from the king to help in the siege of Gowalkot.[129] He, therefore, expressed his unwillingness to proceed to Gowalkot owing to sickness raging in his camp, as reported by him to the Peshwa.[130] Here Baji Bhivrao who was under Peshwa's command was receiving orders from the King to proceed to Gowalkot but he was trying to put it off on some pretex or the other.[131] After explaining his above mentioned role, Baji Bhivrao requested advice from Bajirao as to what he should do[132] and what answers he should give to the king's despatches asking him to proceed to Gowalkot.[133]

So the things at Gowalkot and at Anjanwel started drifting. They could not prosper according to the plan. So the king deputed Jivaji Kanderao Chitnis in Konkan. He arrived at Anjanwel on 1st April, 1734 and was joined by a strong force of Sambhaji Angre.[134] From here Chitnis communicated to the Peshwa the plans of Sambhaji Angre about a naval attack on Anjanwel.[135] In the meantime, Sonji Bhapkar and the Angre's men who had taken position in the creek were attacked by Sidi Sat in which the Marathas sustained several casulties.[136] However, the progress of the siege of Anjanwel by the joint forces of the Angre and the king continued till 10th April, 1734, while the siege was continued Sambhaji Angre received robes of Sarkhelship and a present of elephant sent by king Shahu at Jaygad.[137] Thereupon, they renewed the attack on Anjanwel. Jivaji Kanderao Chitnis led the attack on landside and Sambhaji Angre from the sea.[138] But the attack could not be renewed on the next day as Sambhaji had to retire to Vijaydurg owing to a heavy gale on the sea.[139] Thus the possibility of developing a simultaneous attack from land water was lost.

The remaining force of the Angre opened a cannonade against two important bastions of the fort. Sidi Sat, secure within the walls, replied to the Maratha guns with superior artillery lent by the English. It took a toll of Baburao Vaidya the Maratha captain.[140] The Maratha force became helpless as Sambhaji Angre stayed away at Vijaydurg

at this time.[141] Disgusted with this stalemate Baji Bhivrao, Peshwa's Sardar, showed his unwillingness to remain in Konkan[142] and requested the Peshwa to call him back.[143] Although Baji Bhivrao took Measures to protect the forts of Bankot and Pankot, a skirmish with the Sidi's men ensued near Bankot in which the enemy was repulsed by the Marathas.[144] Baji Bhivrao was reporting to the Peshwa the difficulties of the campaign and details of fight before Gowalkot. It was very different to hold on against the enemy's onslaught unless funds and provisions were quickly supplied from Satara by the king.[145]

In the middle of May 1734, Shahu made changes in the command of Gowalkot. He deputed Krishna Dabhade, and Sambhaji Angre to Konkan who arrived on Konkan in the Middle of May, 1734.[146] Udaji Pawar was asked to encamp near Gowalkot during the Monsoon.[147] Although King Shahu was enthusiastic about Konkan campaign, due to dissension's among the Maratha Sardars some had left Anjanwel and Gowalkot inspite of Shahu's strict orders to them to remain there.[148] Having learned about dissension's in the Dabhade family, Shahu felt sorry for having recalled Bajirao from Konkan campaign.[149] Chitnis and the Shahu's Sardars called fresh reinforcements from Satara in the hope of assaulting the pace, but the reinforcements over came.[150] Due to long and weary hot days in the month of May, most of the besieging forces from Konkan returned to the capital,[151] leaving the chances of Maratha Victory very remote. So Chitnis raised the siege and came back to Satara in June 1734.

In the rainy season of 1734 Brahmendra Swami came to the Konkan. Thereupon, all his disciples, including Angre brothers, went to see him. Sambhaji Angre met the Swami and childed him. The Swami took an insult of Sambhaji's misbehaviour and cursed him. After the departure of Bajirao to Satara, Sambhaji Angre laid siege to the fort Anjanwel. Because of stiff resistence from the Sidi, he soon came to know that the siege would linger for a pretty long time. So he paid his attention to the demestic affairs. Sambhaji Angre asked his brother Dondaji and Manaji to conduct the affairs at Kolaba. Manaji was also given command of naval force at Kolaba.[152]

This arrangement continued for four months. Thereafter, clashes between the two brothers came to the force. Sambhaji relieved Dhondaji of the charge of Kolaba affairs. She wanted to do away with Manaji whom he suspected as partisan of the Peshwa and Brahmendra Swami. When Manaji whom he suspected of treacnerous behivour of his brother Sambhaji towards him, he ran away from Kolaba and took refuge with the Portuguese at Revdanda. After

Manaji's escape from Kolaba Sambhaji went towards Vijaydurg. In the meantime, with the help of the Portuguese he came back with his naval force and attacked Manaji.[153]

Manaji got assistance from the Peshwa to whom he yielded the fort of Kothigad and Rajmachi and repulsed Sambhaji.[154] Because of Sambhaji's hectic behaviour he became popular with Bajirao, Brahmendra Swami and Shahu Maharaj. Bajirao got annoyed with Sambhaji, the latter could not capture Anjanwel, a job which was assigned to by Bajirao before his departure from Konkan. In the rainy season of 1734 when the Swami came to Konkan, Sambhaji forcibly took away from him his Kambal, gun and his flag which irritated the Swami. The King got much displeased with Sambhaji. Because of his quarrel with his brother, Sambhaji had lost hillock fortress of Thal that to the Sidi. Besides, the English at Bombay were affraid with the naval force of Sambhaji. They wanted that the war between the two brothers should continue to weaken their strength. They immediately took up Manaji's cause. The forts of Anjanwel and Gowalkot were still to be captured from the Sidis. Due to East India Company's naval help to the Sidi the work of capturing the above mentioned two forts remained lingering. Therefore, when Manaji requested the Peshwa for the help against Sambhaji, the king asked Bajirao to go to Konkan to settle the quarrel of the Angre brothers and to captured the two forts. Manaji, before the arrival of the Peshwa in Konkan, captured fort Anjanwel.

Bajirao arrived in Konkan in February, 1735. In the meantime, King Shahu was requested to send provisions to Sambhaji Angre. So that it would enable him to equip the fleet to fight against the Sidi who had already landed near Kelsi.[156] Bajirao who had asked his men to carry "Fattqkadi gun"* in Konkan was informed that with great difficulties it was carried upto Nagothane. Bajirao was also asked to be very cautios, as he was hemmed between the Sidi on one hand and the Portuguese on the other. For Konkan expedition also Bajirao was in need of money. Therefore, he deputed his agent at Bombay to try to recover loan from one Krishnaji Ram whom the British were protecting.[157] However, Krishnaji Ram refused to pay to Bajirao which was reported to the Peshwa,[158] with all difficulties explained above, Bajirao started his drive forcefully and from February to April 1735 he helped Manaji to capture the forts Rajmachi, Kolaba, Khanderi and Kohala. The Peshwa called two Angre brothers together at Navadare near Alibag and forced Sambhaji to agree to a peace treaty between the brothers. Sambhaji was remain

content with his Southern possession of Vijaydurg. He was also given Sarkheli. A title Vajarat Mab was bestowed on Manaji who was given Kolaba in his possession.[159] From April 1735 the Marathas had laid siege to Gowalkot which contined for one and half years. In the August 1735, Suryaji Chawan was deputed to help the Marathas to finish the capture of Gowalkot.[160]

Earlier in April 1735 Sarkhel Sambhaji was asked by King Shahu to prosecute the siege of Gowalkot Vigorously. So the Sarkhel ordered his commandant Bawaji Mhaske to march towards Gowalkot. After reaching Gowalkot on April 4, 1735 the commandant wrote to the king explaining the difficulties of the situation and requested him to send him more men and guns.[161] The contents of these letters were reported to the Peshwa from Satara by his son Nanasaheb.[162] The situation in Konkan was so precarious that the seasoned Maratha commandant Santaji Jadhav informed the king the heavy strain and expenses he had sustained during the 13 months of fighting and requested to be relieved within eight days.[163] The Sidi took advantage of the deteriorating condition of the Maratha camp and in the month of June 1735 had started creating disturbances in the Maratha territory.[164] But the heavy monsoon that Set in June put a stop to the Military activities and caused a general sickness among the Marathas.

But in September, 1735 the Marathas renewed the siege of the Kasibandar from where the progress of fighting in Janjira was reported to the Peshwa.[165] In the meantime, the king got help of two thousand force from the Nizam which was directed in Konkan.[166] The forces were admitted in the Karnala fort by the orders of the king.[167]

In April,1735 Sidi Sat got secret information of probable attack by Sambhaji Angre on the forts of Gowalkot and Anjanwel by land and sea. He, therefore, requested the British Company to send help off the port of Anjanwel to protect those forts from to enemy's attempts by sea. The English rose to the occasion and dispatched a powerful fleet against the Angre.[168] Sidi Sat made a Similar request to the Portuguese whose vessels joined the British fleet. On seeing the combined squadron cruising off Anjanwel, Sambhaji Angre got frightened and he called back his commandant Bawaji Mhaske was stationed in front of Gowalkot.[169]

Another reason for Mhaske's withdrawal was that the Kolhapur Raja and Bhagwantrao Ramchandra of Bawada started depredation in the adjoining territory of the Angre. The king, who was informed of this, had issued warning to Sambhaji of Kolhapur and the Chief of Bawada to retrain from such activities, but this had no effect. The

huzur force sent in the Konkan was also lacking the understanding of military strategy and was incapable carrying the assault on the fort.[170] Mhaske had already got disgusted with the manner in which the siege was conducted. Therefore, he found the recall orders from Sambhaji as an excuse and when the alarm was raised by the approach of enemy he destroyed his batteries and broke up his camp and went away at a distance of 2 to 3 cos. with his guns. He was reconciled by the commandants of Huzurat but he told them of his master's orders and refused to return.[171]

However, the commandant of Huzurat succeeded in persuading Mhaske to stay in the camp. Santaji Jadhav and Durgoji Bhoite, commandants of the Huzurat force objected Maske's carrying away the cannons without the permission of the higher authorities. Therefore, Mhaske halted at 2 or 3 cos from the camp but did not return. Action of withdrawal by Sambhaji Angre created panic among the Huzurat force. They fell back on Chiplun and requested the king to recall them at Satara. On November 9th, Sidi Sat came before Gowalkot carrying 22 ships and 2500 force and marked the occasion with discharge of guns.[172] He also came down heavily on the coastal hamlets belonging to the Angre, burning and pillaging them as he desired.[173] It was also reported that the Sidi had effected an alliance with the Dutch who used to bring goods from Surat for sale at Janjira.[174] Even then Sambhaji Angre left Kolaba with his fleet for going to Suvarnadurg. But at Shriwardhan in the creek of Kelsi he had a skirmish with Sidi Sat in which he won the victory over Sidi Sat.[175] To finish off the campaign against the Sidi the king also decided to send more succour with Pilaji Jadhav to the seat of operation.[176] Sambhaji Angre had all along felt that his interest had been neglected by the king and the Peshwa and came to the decision of having peace with Sidi Sat. When the king came to know that Sambhaji had proposed a peace treaty by offering Mandangad and Vijaygad to the Sidi, King Shahu had sent a severe warning to him against making any approaches of peace to Sidi.[177] When Pilaji Jadhav learnt that the king was intending him to go to the scene of operation at Gowalkot, he asked Chimaji Appa to impress upto the king that it was no use sending him alone against the Sidi but that the Angre should be first compelled to be in the front in this undertaking.[178] But nothing prevented Sambhaji to conclude peace treaty with the Sidi which he did by establishing Chawki at Kelsi with the Sidi[179] in the last week of December, 1735. It was also reported by the English that the Angre and the Khem Sawants came to terms.[180] In order to put an end to the

quarrel between the two brothers, Manaji and Sambhaji Angre, Shahu Maharaj issued orders appointing Manaji as a Governor of the District of Kolaba with full powers as his father and brothers had enjoyed. And at the same time, he ordered him to supply his brother Sambhaji with grain for the subsistence of his possessions to the southwards and in return Sambhaji was asked to deliver to Manaji two Gurabas that formerly belonged to the Kolaba fleet.[181] The King's order did not bring desired effect on Sambhaji Angre. He gave up the siege of Gowalkot and took away his material to Makhajan near Ratnagiri.[182] Now Sidi became aggressive. He secretly started preparation for the capture of the fort Karnala.[183] Thereupon, it was suggested to the Peshwa to depute his men to the Portuguese at Goa with a request for naval ships to join in the Konkan campaign against the Sidi as the Portuguese were favourably inclined towards the Peshwa[184] at that time. However, the Peshwa sent his Vakil to the English who pointed out to them how the help given by them to the Sidis would be treated as enimical act by the Marathas.[185]

Having nulified, the Angre's opposition Sidi Sat decided to capture vital posts belonging to the Marathas. He captured Bankot and demolished it. He also made depredations in the territory from Jaygad to Vijaydurg and burnt the land and pillaged the people. Lord Ganpati of Ganpati Pule was discreted. But nothing came in his hand but the 6 to 7 elderly persons who were killed by him.[186]

In January, 1736, the Sidi had skirmishes with the Maratha forces in Konkan. He captured Rewas fortress.[187] This news and the news regarding Bankot alarmed the Satara Darbar. The King immediately asked Chimaji Appa to send help in Konkan. He also appointed Pilaji Jadhav to lend succour to fighting forces in the Konkan campaign. The king also ordered a small force of 500 to march under Yamaji Shivdeo to help to boost the morale of the Maratha force. He also asked Govindrao Chitnis and Bhaskar Vaidya to contact Sambhaji Angre and persuade him to join to resume the operations. He was also promised a reward of restoring Kolaba to him.[188]

Shahu Maharaj was very much interested in capturing Gowalkot as early as possible. It was his intention that Sambhaji should help the huzurat in bringing the Gowalkot in Swarajya. But Sambhaji Angre remained indifferent to this cause which the king did not like. Therefore, he refused to accept the presents sent by Sambhaji to him in February, 1736.

In the month of February, 1736, according to Peshwa's orders his commander Pilaji Jadhav rushed in Konkan via Talghat to recapture Bankot from the Sidi.[189] The Sidi got frightened and instead of opposing the Maratha force, he during night time quietly removed the stores and provisions and put them in the ships and slipped away by abandoning the place. The Marathas occupied fort Bankot without opposition. Thereafter, Pilaji Jadhav came back to Mahad and halted near Goregaon with his force for two months, to transact the business of Mahad and Raigad. The Peshwa summoned him at Satara, in the Month of March 1736.[190] and assigned him the work of capturing Gowalkot. He was given the force of 2000 for this task.[191] The Peshwa had asked him to act in concert with Chimaji Appa.[192]

The Marathas came to know that the Sidi had captured the fortress of Rewas and was intending to push forward on the coast to grab more places belonging to the Marathas. It was necessary to stop his progress by opposing him. Therefore, on 7th April, 1736, Pilaji Jadhav started from Satara with his force and reached the vicinity of Gowalkot on 15th April, 1736. Without loss of time, he decided his plan of operations and from Chiplun he wrote to Chimaji Appa of his having inspected the situation of Gowalkot for erecting batteries.[193] He entrenched himself at the Dhamni Point and in order to cut off Gowalkot from the outside world he decided to stop completely the passage of vessels carrying provisions to the enemy. For that purpose he wanted help from Satara and Poona which did not arrive till 26th April, 1736.[194]

In the meantime, the Sidi who got help of the English and secret help of Sambhaji suddenly assaulted Rewas with the help of his fleet and killed the entire garrison. The Sidi had an eye on Angre's Kolaba which lay hardly within thirteen miles of Rewas in the straight line. Manaji Angre who was at Kolaba understood the evil designs of the Sidi and sent his column to oppose Sidi's advance. At the same time Manaji wrote to Satara for immediate help. The Peshwa and his brother Chimaji Appa understood the consequences of development at the Sidi's end. If the Sidi succeeded capturing Kolaba from Manaji Angre, Sambhaji Angre would return to Kolaba which situation the Peshwa and his brother were determined to prevent. Having gathered 2500 infantry and 800 cavalry in the capital of Satara.[195] Chimaji Appa left the capital on the 13th and galloping appeared on the front near Charhai Kamarle on the 18th April, 1736. The Marathas succeeded in keeping the Sidi in dark about the sudden development on his enemy's front.[196] The Sidi had a small infantry force. The

Maratha horse marched forcefully on the enemy's infantry facing the fire. At the beginning, the Maratha horse reeled and wavered for a time. But timely arrival of Manaji's detachment and Appa's determination saved the situation. With a wild yell the Maratha horse rushed head long into the enemy columns, broke their line and swept everything before it.[197] The small Sidi force found its position untenable. The Sidi had been caught up by the Maratha force at a point where he could expect no immediate re-enforcement from any side. Nothing, it seemed could save him and his force from total destruction from the Maratha's fierceful attack. However, the dauntless Sidi Sat, his brave Lt. Sidi Yakub and his sardar Sambhaji Ghatge were slain, his force was annihilated and camp plundered. Thus the Sidi was completely destroyed after then years of his constant harassment. This Maratha triumph was acclaimed as no owned victory and it was celebrated by booming guns and beating of drums by the people in the capital.[198] The King became jubilant over the glad news and his joy had no bound. He at once announced various rewards to the persons who exhibited bravery in the battle. To Chimaji Appa robes of honour, a sword and a medellion and the shawl were given. Manaji Angre was rewarded with robes of honour and medal*. A messenger from Manaji Angre who came with the thrilling news of joy rewarded with gold and silver bracelets respectively.[199] There was a happy talk of the King and the people of Satara admiring wonderful feat of valour of Chimaji Appa. King Shahu considered the Peshwa and his brother Chimaji Appa as the special favourites of deity Bhargavram, as they achieved so many wonders. However, the Peshwa's adversaries the Pratinidhi, Narbawa and Yeshwantrao became sorry for the sudden end of Sidi Sat.[200] Pilaji Jadhav who was besieging Gowalkot sent congratulations to Chimaji Appa on his victory at Carhai.[201] Jivaji Khanderao and other Maratha commandants like Malhar Dadaji Barve, Dwarkaji Patankar communicated to Chimaji Appa their hearty congratulations on the victory he obtained over Sidi Sat.[202] Chimaji Appa also sent news to Bajirao, of the death of Sidi Sat in fight.[203] So also Bajirao received the news of Sidis fall from his confident Vasudeo Joshi who was working in the Janjira campaign.[205] Fattesingh Bhosle also congratulated Chimaji Appa on behalf of the king and himself on the victory he obtained over Sidi Sat.[206]

Gowalkot Campaign :

It is already stated that Pilaji Jadhav was encamping at Dhamnia village near Gowalkot. He was pressing the king and the Peshwa for

more force and cannons and naval help from the Angres. It may be recalled that Sambhaji of Kolhapur had already entered into a pact with Sidi Sat in 1735 for helping him against the King Shahu. Therefore, in order to obtain Sambhaji's cooperation against the Sidi of Janjira Shahu called Sambhaji for a personal meeting, in the first week of May, 1736 at Pali, a village, 15 miles away from south of Satara.[207] This was the first visit for the two cousins after the celebrated treaty of Warna in 1731. Atleast by this visit the king wanted to nullify Sambhaji's opposition to the Maratha expansion in Konkan.

Pilaji Jadhav was communicating to Satara the progress of siege against Gowalkot.[208] He also assured the king that he was doing his utmost in the fight of Gowalkot.[209] Chimaji Appa proposed to take advantage of the tide of success by moving down with the force he was commanding and hurtling it against the place. He asked Pilaji's advice in such an attempt.[210] There-upon, Pilaji explained to Chimaji Appa the difficulties of capturing Gowalkot.[211] He was of the opinion that more force and help was necessary to capture Gowalkot.[212] So Chimaji Appa despatched two guns and some men to Pilaji.[213] But this was not sufficient. Therefore, Pilaji put forth his demand to Chimaji Appa for more supply of men and money for the siege of Gowalkot.[214] Chimaji at once acceded to Pilaji's request and despatched fresh reinforcements.[215] Although men and money were received by Pilaji, he gave serious thought to the strategy of blockade as Gowalkot was surrounded by deep water channels. It was his intention to close every point of practical access so as to render it dangerous either to enter the place or leave it. He decided to stop Sidi's passage through the creek.[216] In this endeavour he wanted naval assistance of Sambhaji Angre who was hitherto in collusion with the Sidi. Sambhaji Angre was so defiant with the King that he told the representative of the king that the king had no business to put up a fight for Konkan,[217] as it belonged to him and the Sidis. Knowing Sambhaji's hostile attitude to the Maratha cuase in Konkan, Pilaji Jadhav addressed a letter of request for cooperation to Sambhaji Angre and met him at Jaygad about June 7th.[218] This helped Pilaji Jadhav to silence Sambhaji who gave no help to the Marathas. Jadhav was occupying the ground at Ambadas near Dhamni height and he was asking the Huzurat troops commanded by Dhumal, Fedtare, Yesaji Anant and Bhohite to erect batteries at Kalusta. But they remained in active in their cantonment and neglected erecting batteries. So Pilaji's method of blockade did not take shape.[219] In this way the whole of May and June passed. Jadhav wrote to the Peshwa giving details of

the fighting at Gowalkot and explaining his difficulties. Lack of coordination in Maratha tactics compelled Pilaji to admit his defeat in utter despair.[220] As the heavy rains began, men began deserting the camp. Jadhav himself fell ill but vowed to continue the operation in a spirit of do or die. Chimanaji Bapuji, a saraswant sardar of the Peshwa working at Gowalkot reported to the Peshwa that Pilaji Jadhav had been seriously ailing and requested in the letter that Jadhav should be at once removed from the seat of war to his own family.[221] The same writer stated Pilaji's unwillingness as that was the first commission which Shahu had entrusted to him after 28 years and he could not very well decline it.[222] Pilaji's illness practically sealed the fate of the campaign. Pilaji Jadhav was recalled[223] and a treaty was concluded on the basis of the terms suggested by the Peshwa in 1733. Jadhav arrived back at Poona on 30 July, 1736.[224]

Although the treaty was concluded, it was immediately violated by the Sidi by raiding districts round about Pen.[225] Therefore, the negotiations were opened with the Sidi.[226] On 15th September, 1736, an agreement was reached between the Peshwa and the Sidi, thereby bringing peace to the land. By the treaty, a double Government was established in the eleven Mahals of the Sidi's territory.

Treaty between Peshwa Bajirao and the Sidi of Janjira respecting the system of governing the joint control over the territories jointly took place on 2nd of Soorsun 1133.

"The treaty states that, The ryots and cultivators of different Mahals have suffered grievously and ruinously and from calamities, distresses and repeated disturbances, wereupon the whole of the Zamindars and ryots of all the nine mahals appeared and submissively represented that unless a treaty is formed, between this Government and the Peshwa, the country will never be restored to the enjoyment of peace, tranquility and happiness, and more particularly the fields will never be cultivated; therefore on hearing their petition, it was incumbent on the authorities to satisfy and quiet their subjects and restore them to that peace and tranquility; in consequence whereof from the present year, the following mode and systems were jointly adopted for the future to conduct the affairs and collect the respective and proper revenue of all the following eleven mahals, viz :-

1. Mamle Tale, exclusive of the Kusba (Chief town).
2. Tarf Nizampoor, excepting the Kusba.
3. Tarf Goregaon, excepting the village Tupegaon.
4. Prant Nadgaonmurud.
5. Prant Dive.

6. Pragunna Gosale, excepting the Kusba.
7. Purgunna Birwadee, excepting the Kusba.
8. Turf Govale.
9. Turf Mandle.
10. Prant Sreevurdhana.
11. Prant Mhysle.

This is the treaty for the arrangement of the above mentioned even Mahals and it contains and comprehends the following claims, articles and conditions.

(1) The Jamabandy (revenue assessment) of the Mahals should be jointly done by the servants of both Governments and all taxes and revenue should be collected by both the parties and received the whole income half and half.

The undermentioned Mahals are assigned to each Government as follows :-

To the Sidi Sarkar
$5^1/_2$ Mahals namely
Pargana Nadgaon Marud
Pargana Shrivardhan
Pargana Dive
Pargana Maysle
Taluke Mandle
Taluke Gowale
($24\ ^1/_2$ villages)

($24\ ^1/_2$ villages)
Half of Turf Govele, being fifty villages; one village named vadvali is expected, it being the Inam of the Deshmukh; and the remainder, forty nine villages, were divided half and half, & and $^1/2$ being the share of this Government.[227]

To the Peshwa's Government's
$5^1/_2$ Mahals namely
1. Tart Tale
2. Prant Gosale
3. Tarf Nizampur
4. Tarf Goregaon
5. Prant Burvadee
11. Tarf Gowale

($24\ ^1/_2$ villages)
Half of Turf Govele, being fifty villages; one village varouly is excepted, it being the Inam for the Deshmukh and the remainder, forty nine villages were divided half, and half 24 villages and $^1/2$ being the Share of Peshwa's Government.[227]

treaty deated 25th September, 1736.

By the above treaty dated 25th September 1736, a double government was established in the eleven mahals of the Sidi's territory. It was decided to collect revenues of the eleven mahals jointly by the two powers and for this purpose agent or agents to be appointed by them in the Mahals administered by the other party. The port of

Rajpuri was to remain with the Sidi; Roha was to remain exclusively under the control of the Marthas.[228]

The establishment of double Government in the eleven mahals was an arrangement which worked obviously to the advantage of the Maratha power, enabling them to infiltrate their influence in the Sidi's country. Only his island forts of Janjira, Kausa and Underi remained with the Sidi. Due to the presence of Maratha revenue collectors in his territory, it was difficult for the Sidis to become hostile towards the Marathas. His large number of naval ships were destroyed. So the Sidi became, in all but name, a tributary of the Maratha State.[229]

The Sidis and the Peshwa :

Even after streneous struggle the Marathas could not destroy the Sidi. The Sidis remained the masters of Janjira, Anjanwel, Gowalkot and Underi. The Peshwa got only Raigad, Mahad and Bankot. Raigad as a capital of Shivaji had lost its significance during these days. Although the leading Maratha soldiers and statemeen like Bajirao, Chimaji Appa, Shripatrao Pratinidhi, Damaji Thorat, Pilaji Jadhav had taken part in the campaign at various times, their achievement was very insignificant. The causes seem to be as follows :

1. There was no unified command.
2. Shahu Maharaj, sitting at Satara, should not have held the control of Konkan operation.
3. Bajirao instigated the Sidi to defeat Shripatrao Pratinidhi.
4. The Peshwa also secretly asked the Angre not to cooperate with Shripatrao Pratinidhi during this campaign.
5. The Maratha Navy under Sambhaji Angre did not co-operate with the land force of the Peshwa in blockading the Sidi's forts nor preventing the English succeour to the Sidis.

Despite the treaty, the Marathas continued the siege of Gowalkot till February 1737, without achieving any success.[232] At this time Sambhaji Angre had a desire to attack Bombay.[233] In Spetember, 1740 Manaji Angre defeated the Sidi of Underi who attacked Thal and Nagothana.[234] Manaji continued to be unfriendly to the Sidis as reported by the English on 12.4.1744.[235]

Sambhaji Angre died on 12th February 1742.[236] His brother Tulaji succeeded to the command of Vijaydurg. King Shahu had ordered Tujaji to capture Anjanwel. Tulaji tried to buy neutrality of the English in this affair. Therefore, Tulaji approached English and expressed his desire for concluding treaty of peace with them.[237] How could the English compromise with their enemy Angre? They did not want Anjanwel to go to the Marathas.[238] They gave negative reply

to Tulaji. When the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao came to know his, he wrote to the English saying Tulaji Angre was deputed by Chhatrapati Shahu to capture Anjanwel and therefore they should not obstruct him.[239] However, the English turned a deaf ear to the Peshwa's letter and helped the Sidis against Tulaji Angre.[240] King Shahu also urged the English to despatch their envoy to Satara to iron out differences if any and not to help the Sidis.[241] The Peshwa also requested the English to leave the Sidi alone to fight with Tulaji Angre.[242] There was no effect of these two letters on the English. They continued their policy of helping the Sidi Yakubkhan who sought their by help despatching letter dated 27.1.1745 as follows :-

"Under God, my chief reliance on the company and your friendship and my land and wealth are at your disposal and therefore what need I write more ?"[243]

Tulaji Angre attacked Anjanwel from land and the sea, blocked and captured it. On hearing the news of the capture of Anjanwel, Sidi Yakub of Gowalkot ran away from the fort. Shortly Tulaji besieged Gowalkot and succeeded in capturing the same.[244] Shahu got much pleased when he heard victory news from Tulaji Angre.

The fort of Underi was under the control of the Sidi :-

The Killedar of Underi suspected the Maratha designs to capture Underi after the conquest of Anjanwel and Gowalkot. He informed the English that unless he was helped immediately the fort would fall in the hands of Angre[245] and requested for the help of war material. However, the English refused to accede to Sidi's request.[246] Manaji Angre attacked the fort of Underi. The attack was repulsed by the Sidi with a defeat and a woundon the thigh of Manaji.[247] He got the Peshwa's help[248] and the combined forces inflicted a defeat on Sidis.[249] For about 8 years there seems to be an unsigned true. The hostilities were renewed in May, 1758.

Notes & References

1. S. and P. Deptt. Diary No.2, pp. 34-36.
2. Malik Amber had confirmed the Watan of Deshmukh of Danda-Rajapuri on the Bhat family. B.I.S.M. Annual Report, Vol. XI, (Shake 1837), pp. 95-96.
3. B.I.S.M. Half Yearly Report, Shake 1834, pp. 70-71.
4. Rajwade, op.cit., Vol. 4, p. 35.
5. Ibid., Vol. 16. p. 40.
6. Itihas Sangraha : Itihasik tipane, Vol. 2, p. 24.

7. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, New Series, Vol. 5, p. 105.
8. Avalaskar, op.cit., p. 4, note 20.
9. Rajwade, op.cit., Vol. 4, p. 35.
10. Avalaskar, op.cit., p. 5 note 24.
11. Rajwade, op.cit., Vol.2, p. 26.
12. Bhosle, Janjira Sansthancha Itihas, p. 65.
13. Sen, Studies in Indian History, p .83.
14. Parasnis, Brahmendra Swami Dhawadshikar, p. 43.
15. Parvate, (tr.) Portuguese - Marattha Relations, pp. 125-126.
16. Ibid., p. 126.
    When Raigad was given in charge of the Sidi by the Emperor it was agreed by the later that the Sidi should be paid 3 lakhs annually from Surat for the maintenance of his garrison at Raigad and Tankha of Rs. 2 lakhs was granted by the Emperor every year for the support of the Sidis' fleet. (see Banaji, Bombay and the Sidis, L. 59, p. 226); Political Department Diary, 6A, pp. 69-70 & Public Deptt. Diary, 6, pp. 71-3. The Sidi was not prepared to lost 5 lakhs annually by surrendeing the Raigad to the Marathas.
17. Vad, Shahu Roznishi, p. 7.
18. Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol-III, Introduction; p.11.
19. Edward, Rise of Bombay, pp. 141-2.
20. Parasnis, Brahmendra Swami Charitra, pp. 43-55.
21. Parasnis, Ibid., pp. 19-22.
22. Rajwade, M.I.S., III, L. 180.
23. Parasnis, op.cit., p. 34.
24. Parasnis, op.cit., p. 44-45.
25. Rajwade, Vol-II, p. 59.
26. Ibid., Vol-III, L.No. 249.
27. Rajwade, op.cit., Introduction, p. 25.
28. Ibid., p. 22.
29. Ibid., L. 331.
30. Ibid., L. 331.
31. Ibid., Vol-III, Introduction, p. 24.
32. Ibid.,
33. Parasnis, Bramendra Swami Charitra, pp. 49-50.
34. Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol-IV; Peshvyanchi Bakhar, p. 39.
35. Rajwade, Vol-IV, Peshvyanchi Bakhar, p. 40.
    Rajwade, Vol-II, p. 65.
36. Sinha, Rise of the Peshwa, p. 178.

37. Peshwe Rozkird, Rumal 15;
Khobrekar, Maratyachya Swaranche Mukham, p. 156.
38. Sane, Karyetihas Sangraha Patre Yadi, No. 22.
39. S.& P.D., Vol.3, L.2;
Purandare Daftar-II, 104.
40. Parasnis, Brahmendra Swami Charitra, p. 48.
41. Purandare Daftar-I, L. 104;
S.& P.D., Vol.33, L.11-15.
42. Ibid.,
43. S.& P.D., L.14.
44. Sane, Kavye Itihas Sangrah Patre Yadi, No. 22.
45. Purandare, Vol.I, L.102.
46. S.P.D., Vol.3, L. 21 dt. 19.7.1733.
47. Ibid., L. 31.
48. Kavya Itihas Sangrah Patre Yadi, p.45
49. Purandare Daftar, I L.103.
50. S.P.D., Vol.3, L.4, Vol.33 L.27.
51. Ibid., Vol. 30 L.95.
52. Ibid., Vol. 33, L.27.
53. Ibid., Vol.30, L.95.
54. Rajwade. M.I.S., Vol. II, P.68.
55. S.P.D., Vol.3, L.7;
Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol.II P.68.
56. d...6. Brahmendra Swami Charitra, p.50.
Charitra Sahitya Khand, 6, L.125.
57. Dighe, Peshwa Bajirao-I, p.6.
58. S.P.D., Vol.33, L.38.
59. Ibid., L.42.
60. Ibid., L.48.
61. Ibid., L.62.
62. Ibid., Vol.3, L.21.
63. Ibid.,
64. Ibid., Ls.10, 15, 19, 21;
Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. III, L.330.
65. S.P.D. Vol.3, Ls.21, 25.
66. Purandare Daftar, I, L.106.
67. Bnaji, Bombay and the Sidis, p.78.
68. S.P.D., Vol.3, L.65.
69. Ibid., p.78.
70. Ibid., Ls.5, 5a.
71. Ibid., L.69.

72. Bombay Archives, Public Deptt. Diary 5B, pp. 230-34.
73. Public Department Diary 6-A, 7th June, 1733, pp.1-3,4.
74. Ibid.,
75. Public Department Diary 6, August, 1733, pp.71-73.
76. Purandare, op.cit., Vol.i, L.104.
77. Rajwade, Vol. 13, L. 305; S.P.D., Vol.33, L.66.
78. S.P.D., Vol.33, L.57; S.P.D., Vol.3, Ls.15, 16.
79. S.P.D., Vol.3, L.38.
80. Ibid., Ls. 38, 45.
81. Ibid., Ls. 39, 98.
82. S.P.D., Ls. 47, 54.
83. Ibid., Vol. 3, L.45.
84. Ibid., Vol. 33, L.45.
85. Ibid., L. 115.
86. Ibid.,
87. Ibid., Vol. 3, L. 102.
88. Public Dept. Diary, Vol. V, pp. 148-149.
    Banaji, op.cit., p. 257.
89. S.P.D., Vol. 33, Ls. 44, 78.
90. Purandare, Vol. II, L. 102;
    Sardesai, NHM, Vol.II, p.
91. Purandare, Vol.I, L.102.
92. S.P.D., Vol.3, L.6.
93. S.P.D., Vol.33, L.75.
94. S.P.D., Vol.3, L.53.
95. S.P.D., Vol.33, L.79. Bajirao suggested that the Sidis should hand over Anjanvel and Underi to the Marathas and in return the Marathas should allow Sidis to retain Janjira and Padmadurga.
96. S.P.D., Vol.33, L.29
97. Ibid.,; S.P.D., 3, L.68.
98. S.P.D., 20, Ls.99, 100.
99. Bombay Archives, Surat Factory Diary, Vol. 618, pp. 5-12.
100. Dighe, Bajirao-I, p.67.
101. S.P.D., Vol.3, L.102.
102. Ibid., L.103.
103. Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol.III Introduction, p.30.
104. S.P.D., Vol.33, L.131.
105. S.P.D., Vol.20, L.328.
106. S.P.D., Vol.33, L.121.
107. Ibid., L.122.

108. Ibid., L. 121
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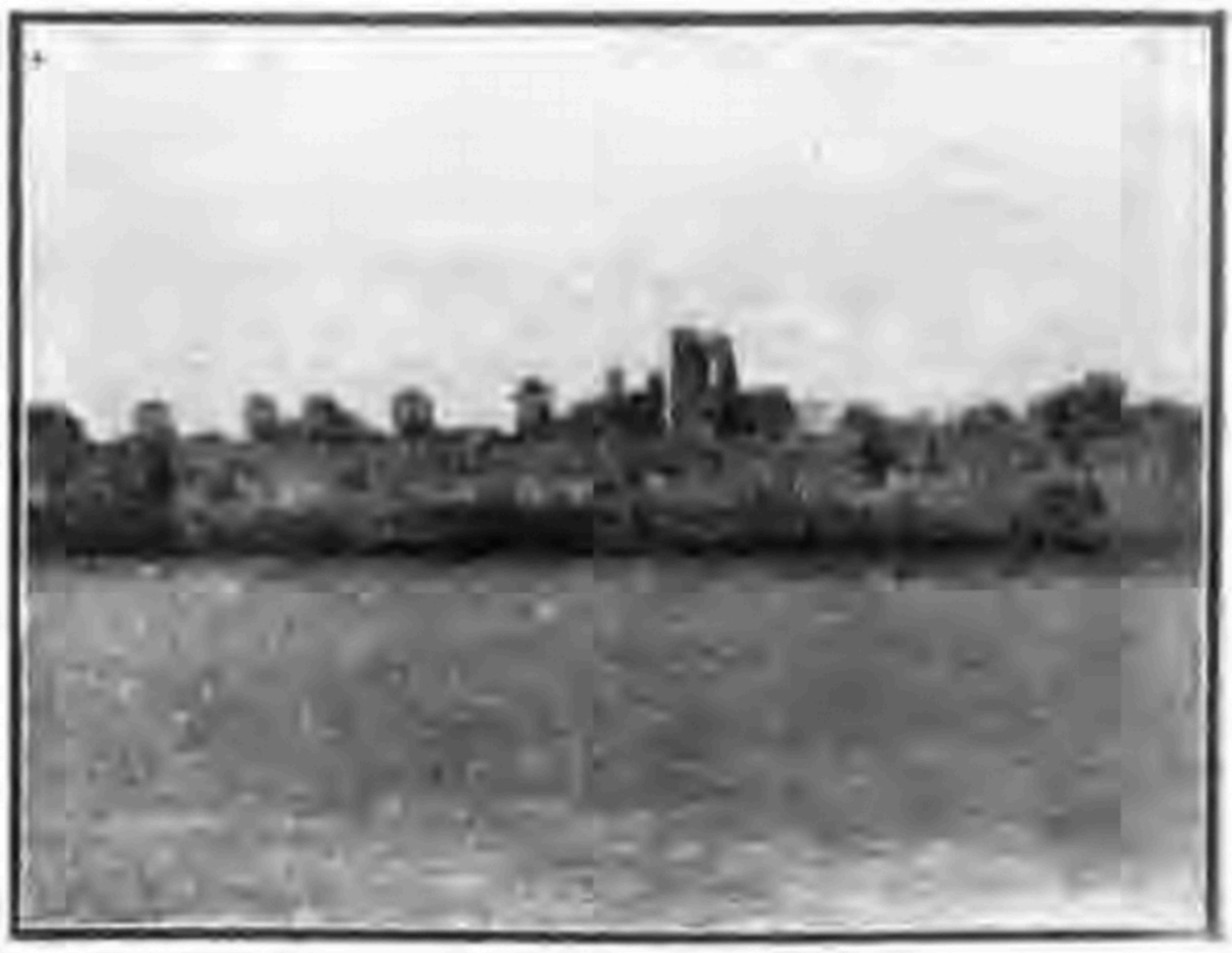

Fort of Bassein

Chapter - VII

THE KONKAN REGION BECAMES A PART OF MARATHA DOMINIONS (1707-1756)

1. Expulsion of the Portuguese.
2. Fall of Angre.

After the conclusion of the treaty, the Portuguese viceroy of Goa Conde de Sandomil began a policty of aggression against the Sawant of Wadi and of persecution against the Hindus. His example was faithfully followed by his subordinates, throughout the Portuguese dominions.[1] He began to build a strong fort at Thana in 1734. A general tax was levied on the Hindu subjects for meeting the heavy expenditure of the defences. They were also ordered to furnish labour and ships for the works. The heavy taxation and the demand for labour created discontent among the polulace and in desperation they invited the Marathas to take possession of the island of Salsette.[2] The Portuguese also sided with Sambhaji Angre against Manaji whose cause Peshwa had unheld. When the Peshwa came to know that the Portuguese had supported Sambhaji whom the Peshwa disliked, they became the particular object of his hatred. Moreover, the Portuguese undertook to expediate completion of the construction of Thana fort. By April, 1735, excepting the watch-towers, looking over the river side, the main fortifications were nearing completion.[3]

On their side the Marathas watched the Porgress of the work with an uneasy mind. They realised that once these defences were ready their passage into Salsette would be braved and they therfore determined to strike.[4] According to the treaty of 1732 Bajirao requested the Portuguse viceroy to allow the Marathas to establish a factory on the Salsette island and that its site should be selected by the General of the North. Venkajirao Joshi, Bajirao's brother-in-law, went to meet the Portuguese General and demanded the site. The general lost his temper and used abusive words calling, fair and handsome Bajirao a negro.[5] When informed, Bajirao took this as an insult and resoved to take revenge. He made a speedy and vigorous preparation with utmost secrecy and swiftness. That Bajirao would

invade Bassein was reported to the Portuguese at the end of April, 1735 by Laxmibai Angre, widow of Kanhoji.[6]

The operations against the Portuguese were conducted in a number of island outposts and fortresses spreaded on the coast. To follow this clearly, a brief description of these places is necessary.

As one sails northward by the coast from Kolaba and Khanderi, the first considerable island is that of Bombay. East of Bombay, Karanja and north of Karanja, Gharapuri and Turambe or Trombay islets. North of Bombay is the present Bandra which was an island at that time and when one leaves Bandra there rises the fortified isand of salsette of sasti with dependency of 66 villages. At the mouth of Panvel creek stood the town of Belapur. Nearer Thana were Anjur and Kelve. These last were inhabited clarify by Pathare Prabhus, who had religious quarrels with the Portuguses and had appealed to Bajirao. To the east of Bandra was the strong place of Marol. Off the coast between Andheri and Bassein was a row of islands. To the west of Goregaon was the fort of Vesava, called by the Portuguese Versova. Beyond Versova again was Malad, of which the Inamdars Antaji Raghunath and Ramchandra Raghunath were in secret correspondence with Bajirao. Near Bassein the fortified island of Dharavi. On the opposite bank to Bassein, but a little further stream was the fort of Ghodbandar, which guarded the sourthern mouth of Ulhas river. Beyond Bassein was the fort of Tarapur and the towns and talukas of Mahim, Dahanu and Ambargaon. On the shore near Bassein was the fort of Arnals. To the north cast were Manora and Asheri.[7]

According to the English at Bombay "Bajirao's real intention in attacking Tannah and the passes near it was in order to facilitate their entrance on Salsette"[8] In February, 1737, the Peshwas' brother Chimaji Appa was appointed to command the expedition and sent in advance Shankaraji Pant Padke, Ramchandra Hari, Chiman Bapuji, the Anjurkar Naiks and others, to proceed with their preparations and make dispositions with the utmost secrecy.[9] On the occasion of Bhavani's worship at Poona, leading people of Salsette like Namaji Deshmukh, Bhikaji Haibat rao, Hiraji Thaku, Murarji Thakur, Kalvekar, Goregaonkar and a Koli etc. were specially called with their followers with the intention that no body would suspect the special gathering of troops onthe worship day.[10] Bajirao then appointed Shankaraji Pant Phadke to the Chief command, Gangaji Naik to the the army against Bassein and Khandoji Mankar to the army against Salsette. Bajirao also ordered Ramchandra Hari Patwardhan and Khandoji Mankar to collect an army of one thousand at Kalyan.[11]

While these armies were gathering onthe frontiers, neither the Viceroyof Goa nor the general of the North gave any serious thought to the problem and they remained in defenceless condition although the Governor of Bomaby had warned the General of the North about the Proposed invasion of the Marathas well in advance.[12] The General "had then only eighty Europeans and few topasses which were hardly sufficient to man one fort and he had five or six to maintain."[13]

The Marathas had arranged very carefully all the details of their surprise attack upon Salsette. Chimaji Appa ordered Antaji Raghunath Narayan and Ramchandra Josh and host of others to march in advance towards Kalyan with troops.[14] They descended to Kalyan and Bhiwandi and then on the night of Saturday the 26th March, 1737, they pounced upon Thana practically from all sides.[15] They overpowered the Portuguese so much that the latter had to abandon the place by 11 a.m. next day.[16] It was the fear of the Marathas that the construction of Thana fort, when completed, would render their plan to conquer Salsette impracticable.[17] On the 27th and 28th March, the entire Maratha force had crossed overto Salsette and took possession on the fort and town.[18] Narayan Joshi stormed the fort of Parasik and invaded the fort of Belapur.[19]

On April 6 and 7, the Maratha troops practically occupied the whole island. So the Portuguese had with them only, Bandra, Versova, Karanja or Uran and Bassein Castle.[20]

The Bombay President in council got a news about the Maratha designs to invade his territories. So upon the first notice of the Maratha success, the President posted reinforcements to the several outposts with orders to guard them against the possible attack from the Marathas.[21]

The Marathas now determined to attack Bassein. One detachment had succeeded merely in entering the district or island of Bassein. This news of the Maratha assault on Bassein reached Goa on 12 April, 1737.[22] The Maratha force under the command of Shankaraji Phadke had to stop outside the formidable walls of the Bassein fort discussing the plans after the failure of the attempt to surprise Bassein.[23] A detachment command by Narayan Joshi attacked Belapur. Belapur resisted for sometime. The captain of the fort was in distress for want of water and ammunition. He therefore requested Bombay President to send him succour immediately on 28 April, 1737. The time given was very short for the English to make the necessary preparations and send the necessary supplies for relieving the said fort.[24] The Portuguese could not hold on it against the

determined attack of the Marathas. The fort was surrendered to the Marathas who permitted the garrison to march out under arms with their baggage from Bassein.[25] In this assault, Honaji Balkawade's 37 men wounded and 4 killed. Khandoji Mankar found his 74 men wounded and 8 killed.[26] When the Maratha detachments approached Santacruz, near Kalyan and Manol in the island of Salsatte, the garrison in the respective forts surrendered at the first summonse.[27]

The Marathas tried to occupy the two island ports of Bandra and Versova. Honaji Balkawade led an attack against the fort and vainly tried to carry the place by escalade. But the attack was repulsed at the cost of several casulties.[28] Island port of Bandra was surrounded persistantly by the Marathas since 10th April.[29] Their plan of scaling the walls was frustrated with considerable loss. Thereafter the Marathas attacked the two small points that guarded the fortress. But that attempt was foiled with the help of the British which reached in time. The Marathas tried their best to capture the place by constant attack. But due to incessant gunfire from the ships they suffered a heavy mortality during the course of fifty six days of the siege and having no hope to better the lot, withdrew on 5th June, 1737.[30]

Another detachment of the Marathas laid siege to Versova which, even though a small fortification, was of great importance as a part of the island of Salette and was capable to berth the ships of high capacity. Their incessant fire on the walls was met with the return fire. Therefore, they got desheartened in the attack and withdrew with the loss of some men.

The port remained open to the enemy and was strenghtened by reinforcements carried in by D'Souze Pereira.[31] The Marathas had captured Dharavi, just south of Bassein and had a forceful battery in it. Maratha battery at Dharavi was obstructing the Portuguese communication with Goa and Bombay. It was necessary for the Portuguese to remove the Maratha obstacle in the way. A strong party of Portuguese forcefully attacked the Dharavi and captured[32] it. The Maratha force before the Bassein, determined to capture it by assault. But it was not an easy task as the Bassein fort was in a peculiar position. The citadel of Bassein which was the main symbol of Portuguese power in this part of the country resisted all the land attacks, that were launched by the Maratha against it. A mile and a half in circumference and trangular in shape, the fort had strong stone walls rising to the height of thirty to fourty feets from the ground and about five feet in thickness. Four-sided bastions rose from each corner on which strong artillery was mounted. To the south of the fort ran

the Vasai creek, and the west was washed by the open sea. The eastern side was bounded by a belt of marshi land over-flown by tidal waves, while the north provided the only land passage for approach to the fort.[33] The fort was considered impregnable. When the Marathas encamped before the Bassein, they saw before them an open contry of 14 to 16 miles run. There they overran the open country and captured all places. Barwaji Topkar captured fort Fivdhan.[34] Immediately after that, the other Maratha commanders took over Takmak and Kamandurg.[35] Tandulwadi was occupied on 2nd May, 1737[36] Mandvi stood a siege of for about ten days[37] as also Manori.[38] Both came into the Maratha possession on 16th and 20th May respectively. So also the Maratha commander Shakaraji Pant captured the island of Arnala at the mouth of Waitarna.[39]

The Peshwa's general wrote to him about the importance of the place as follows. "Arnala is a fine harbour commanding a good many creeks where the fleet can seek shelter or sally out for an attack swiftly and easily. It will be another Bassein from which the enemy's territory upto Mahim can be threatened."[40] There, it was subjugated by Shankaraji Keshav, the Peshwa general who was of the opinion that a fort at Karnala should be built on a strong and permanent basis with strong bastions.[41]

The Marathas turned their attention to the capture of fort of Bassein. One 9 the June, 1737, the Marathas attempted to escalade the fort but with no success.[42] Thereafter, they ventured an assault on the fort onthe night of 8th July, 1737. But they were punished with considerable loss by discharging heavy fire from the fort.[43] From the loss that the Marathas suffered in this attack, they realised that merely manpower was not enough to fight back the resistance they experienced at Bassein. They, therefore, laid blockade to the fort from the land and diverted their gun men for the conquest of the province.[44] Now the General of the North waited for the help from Goa. One war-ship which had started with ammunition from lisbon in April, 1736 reached Goa in October, 1737.[45] Thereupon, the Goa cabinet discussed the situation created by the Maratha invasion of Bassein. They came to know that Chimaji Appa, the proudest commandant of Shahu Raja was in the war field with 30,000 Veteran and courageous soldiers and he was behind the chain of battles by which the endeavoured to finish up the Portuguese once for all. Therefore, they thought of abandening the forts of Mahim, Tarapore, Asserin, Kelve, Shrigaon, Dahanu and Bandra or demolishing them and defending for preservation of the forts of Bassein, Chaul Daman and Diu.[46]

These measures, they thought, would ensure the security and vigorous defence of the main forts and would reduce the liability of the subsistence of the state until aid from Portugal arrived.[47] Goa Government despatched one warship from Goa under the command of Fernando da Costa Loure, captain of the sea and war. He left in the beginning of October with some ammunition, seven thousand sacks of rice and one thousand sherafins in cash, as a supply to the forts of Chaul Caranja and Basscin.[49] On receipt of the help plans for regaining of the fort of Thana was considered which was not accepted.[50]

Assault on Mahim (1737, October - December) :

After the rainy season Shankaraji Pant decided to laid siege to the forts of Mahim and Kalve and deputed his generals Mahadaji Keshav and Krishnaji Shinde to capture these forts by assault. They arrived before the fort of Mahim in the last days of October. Immediately, they broke through the parapet of the trenches and irritated the soldiers inside the forts by their muskets.[51] They also attacked and captured the fort of Kelve and Shirgaon,[52] both near the fort of Mahim. The Maratha commandant Vithal Pant entered the camp of the fort of Mahim on the last day of October.[53] Kelve, Mahim, Shirgaon and Tarapur forts are close to each other. The Marathas had laid siege to these forts sirultaneauly.[54] But the Marathas attempt to reduce Mahim ended in disaster. Due to enemy's presure, the Marathas abandoned the siege and retired to Shirgaon. There they were attacked the Portuguese commandant and got dispersed. De Mello the victorious captain, suddenly appeared near Asheri on the 16th January, 1738. This action of the captain put the Marathas in confusion. They hurriedly raised the siege, dismantled the nearly port of Manori and sought safety in a junction with the force that had retired from Mahim.[55] The victorious Portuguese attacked the Maratha garrison at Dharavi on 17th February, 1738 and annibilated it.[56] The debacle of Mahim and reverses at Dharavi stemmed the tide of Maratha advance dampened their efforts.

The Maratha force in the Konkan got demoralised and started decamping at the least rumour of enemy movements.[57]

In the month of March/April 1738 the Marathas undertook repairs and reconstructin of the fort of Thana which they had started in the last May after the capture of that fort.[58] This work continued throughout 1738.

Bajirao came to know the Maratha debacle in Konkan after he got victory over the Nizam at Bhopal on 7th January, 1738. He then asked his brother Chimaji Appa to hasten to Konkan at the head of

12000 horses and foot.[59] He arrived at the Konkan theatre of war at Kolhaj on 10th February, 1738.[60] The inspring presence of the commander gave a fillip to the drooping spirit of the Maratha army.[61] The parties of Maratha horse under Honaji Balkawade and Dhondopant raided the Daman district and laid it waste.[62]

At this time a heartening news care from Goa that the territory of Phonda which belonged to the king of Saunda was occupied by the Marathas.[63] On 21-3-1738 with new enthusiasm, the Marathas commenced defensive works and stockades confronting Portuguese castles almost on the entire fort,[64] Krishnaji Gawande reported the progress of the repairs of the fortress of Arnala.[65] Shankaraji Keshav commenced the work of repairs of the ramparts of Bahadarpura and thus tried to add to its strength.[66] In the month of February 1738, same Maratha horsemen went up the top of the hill of Dharavi and established themselves there and fixed cannons, thus obstructing the passage of ships towards the fort of Bassein.[67] On the 28th February, 1738, Cardim[68] Once again attacked Dongari (Dharavi) and routed the Marathas.[69] On the 9th March, 1738 Chimaji Appa attempted to take back Dharavi hill from the Portuguese but failed.[70] He was very much hurt by this defeat. He wrote to Poona, "Dharavi iron has entered my heart and Goa knows it what could be done. Nothing at the moment."[71]

About March 25, Shankarji Phadke saw that the Portuguese warship were removed from the port of Bassein. He suspected that the ships were taken to attack Bahadarpura of Arnala. Therefore, he despacted the messangers and asked the Marathas at Arnala, Tandalwadi, Mandvi and Jivdhan to be alert.[72] Fort Bahadarpura was in the vicinity of fort Bassein, of 61200 feet away. The Marathas encamped near the fort and started erecting palisade round their camps on the month of April 1738.[73] They also commenced the work of repair of the ramparts of fort Bahadarpura.[74] To obstruct the repair work the Portuguese batteries kept up firing from the fort Bassein.[75] Thereupon, the Marathas took precaution for the defence of Bahadarpura and nearby fort Vajragad.[76] Similarly the repairs of the fort Arnala was in progress. To prevent the completion of the stockade that was under construction the Portuguese batteries kept up firing.[77] Inspite of Portuguese obstruction, the Marathas completed the repairs of the fort Arnala in December 1738.[78] To keep the tide of the Maratha force under cheek, the Portuguese General requested more supplies from Goa. But the Goa Government refused to do so. In utter dispair the Portuguese General resigned his post and went back to Goa on

11th April 1738. In his place Pedro De Mello Mestro de Gampo was posted.[79] The Portuguese Viceroy appealed to the English to mediate in the dispute but so long as the Portuguese did not give comsent to relinquish their claims to the island or Salsette as per demand of Marathas, agreement between the two states was not possible.[80] In the month of March the Portuguese with the help of the Sidis launched an attack against Kamandurg. But the Marathas prevented the Portuguese attack and captured the hill fort.[81] The Marathas also captured some Portuguese ships near Arnala. At Dahanu, in April 1738, the Marathas fought with the Portuguese and gave a crushing defeat. Chimaji Appa, due to his ill health, went back to Pune on 6th June, 1738.[83]

Chimaji Appa was away from the Konkan field for six months upto December 1738. During the absence of Chimaji Appa, the Marathas in the beginning of July 1738 with 2000 men took possession of the village Danda Kalal and a hill near it which is half a mile from Kalwe. They built here a fort with such speed that they completed it before the end of the same winter.[84] Having thus settled at that sight they despatched a detachment to create hostilities in the jurisdiction of Mahim and Tarapore. In one of the campaigns they killed Portuguese captain of Manori alongwith his fifty sepoys.[85]

Therefore, during the months of August to October 1738, the Portuguese tried to enter into peace treaty with the Marathas through the good offices of the British at Bombay.[86] But the Portuguese did not agree to code salsette and Bassein to the Marathas. Therefore, the stalemate continued.[87]

On the battle field in the vicinity of Bassein on Portuguese side there were 897 soldiers of whom 521 were Portuguese and 376 native. Substracting those on the sick list, there were only 755 soldiers. Besides these, 900 soldiers were engaged in the Bassein campaign. Similarly there were 3000 Marathas and under command of Pilaji Jadhav, there were 7000 soldiers and 700 horsemen ready to go there.[88]

In the month of Nov. 1738 the Portuguese at Bassein received two frigates, three palas and three gavetas from Goa. Therefore the General of Bassein went to attack Reis, a fortress constructed by the Marathas in the middle of the river Thana. But a connon shot from the Marathas killed a Portuguese General. Thus the Portuguese attempt of capturing the fortress in the Thana river got foiled. The death of their general had a depressing effect on the expedition. The fleet returned to Bassein in a mood of despondency.[89]

Bajirao-I came to know that the Portuguese in Bassein received aid and supplied the Sea route from Goa and Daman.[90] In order to

stop this, he planned a new strategy for smashing the enemy and capturing the Bassein fort, the merve centre of the enemy's activities and the symbol of their rule in North Konkan. The Peshwa decided to despatch the entire forces at his command against the Portuguese and also utilise all sources for destroying their authority in Konkan.[91] Preparations on a large scale were started and the Peshwa's foundries at poona, Kalyan and Bhivandi began to turn out munitions in huge quantities.[92] They strengthened the defence of the outposts they had abandoned previously in Bassein sector. So also they fortified fortress of Danda Khatal.[93] The Peshwa despatched in 10 November 1738, 8000 horsemen and the thousand footmen under the command of Shankarji Pant. The Maratha force under Ramoji Shinde entered the Daman district and captured Nargol, Khatalwadi, Umbergaon, Dahanu and carried away standing crop[94] and thereafter they returned to Agashi and Bahadarpura.[95]

To divert the attention of the Portuguese from their Northern provinces and to stop suecour coming from Goa to Bassein by Sea, the Marathas attacked Goa itself in January 1739. The Maratha forces under Dadaji Bhave Nargundkar, Venkantrao Ghorpade and Jivaji Shinde crossing the Dighi Ghat attacked the Portuguese territory of salsette on 23rd January, 1739. The whole of Salsette province, excepting the forts of Raehol and Marmagoa, came under the occupation of the Marathas. Taking advantage of this ealamitous situation in which the Portuguese were involved, the Sawant of Wadi attacked Bardesh and took possession of it on 22nd January, 1739. The Portuguese seeing no escape from the amnitilation, immediately showed their willingness for a peace treaty.[96]

In the North Konkan affairs were moving very fast. Chimaji Appa who had gone back to Poona on 29th May, 1738.[97] On account of his failing health arrived on the battle field of Konkan with a formidable army in December 1738 and was joined by Shankaraji Phadke from Bassein with 2200 troops.[98] Thereafter, on 30th December, 1738 they invaded the Mahim fort and on 20th January the joint Maratha force furiously bombarded the fortfications of Mahim fort with 30 cannons. The inmates in the fort could not face the heavy Marathas firing. Therefore, it was surrendcred to the Marathas on 20th January, 1739.[99] Vasudeo Dikshit Patankar, the Peshwa's Guru, congratulated Chimaji Appa on the capture of Mahim.[100] The Maratha force under Ramoji Shinde captured Dahanu.[101] Thereafter, the Marathas stommed Kelwe and put garrison to the sword on 21 and 22 January 1739,[102] Chimaji Appa then

proceeded with his army to Tarapur and laid seige to the fort. Tarapur put amore stiff resistance.The Marathas sustained heavy damage due to withering fire from the fort. The fight continued for seven days. Baji Bhivrao Rethrekar died in action. The Portuguese captain of Tarapur, Luiz Veleso Maehado also died while fighting. The fort was surrendered to the Marathas and 4000 soldiers were taken prisoners. There were many women in the fort who were made captives, but Chimaji Appa gave them very decent treatment according to a Portuguese chronicler.[103] On being informed of the death of Baji Bhivrao on the battle filed, Bajirao assured Chimaji Appa of better treatment being accorded to Baji's son and brother.[104] Another Portuguese writer has recored that Chimaji Appa played the role of a perfect gentleman with the widow of captain Luis Velezo.[105] From Tarapur they commenced the communications with the hill fort of Asheri to which a force under the command of Haripant was despatched. Haripant occupied it on 3rd February 1739, without firing a shot.[106]

The Marathas under the command of Ramji Mahadeo and Khandoji Mankar prosecuted the siege of Versova with vigour[107] and obtained its submission on 9th February.[108] Thereafter, operations against Dharavi were commenced on 13th February 1739.[109] Once captain Tulaji Anant from Malad to Kasi and then to Bhaider and Dharavi.[110] He was asked to guard the creek of Murdha so as to make it impossible for the enemy to cross it.[111] He erected batteries by the side of the creek to prevent enemy ships moving in and out.[112] The Marathas spared no pains to raise batteries to attack the seaward bastion. It was a troublesome task, the batteries being exposed to the enemy's fire from sea and land.[113] Dharavi was battered into submission by Khaduji Mankar and was surrendered on 7th March 1739.[114] Chimaji Appa had already captured Bhadrapur on 17th February. About this time according to the orders of the Viceroy, Pardi, Bandra, Versova and Dongri were given up for the Marathas to capture.[115] On 21 March Manaji Angre had already taken possession of karanja or Uran Island.[116] The English in Bombay, with the Portuguese collaboration, demolished Bandra fortifications on 25th March.[117](1739)

Bassein was now completely isolated and the Maratha forces began to converge upon the place. To the north of the Bassein fort, the landside was free, but the Marathas had already established their sentinels there. All the three sides were full of mud and sea water. Whatever was at all possible to be done to help Bassein was only by

sea at grave risk. The siege of Bassein had continued without interruption since April 1737. But in february it was subjected to a close and vigorous siege. Chimaji Appa arrived before Bassein with numarous force on 7th February 1739.[118] The Marathas constructed fortifications on the hillock of Dongari for embarrassing the passage of Bassein. It was protected by eight cannons for obstructing the transport of Bassein. The Portuguese had mounted their long range artillery places over the strong stone walls.[119] The Marathas began laying mines under foundations of the walls in order to demolish them. These attempts of the Marathas met with volleys of fire and connonade from the fort garrison. But the Maratha artillery against the fort walls silenced the Portuguese guns.[120] By this time the Marathas succeeded in springing thirteen mines on the bastions. At 7 a.m. on the 13th May 1739, the explosion of two mines partially destroyed the bastion. The Marathas rushed to the attack, but the valient garrison drove them back. The explosion of a third mine caused them heavy losses. On the 14th, the explosion of a fourth mine laid the tower of San Sebastian level with ground. The advancing Maratha parties rushed inside through them. There ensued hand to hand fight. All day the Portuguese defended themselves with courage of dispair.[121] The grim battle lasted for two days. The Portuguese losses amounted to eight hundred officers and men killed and unknown number wounded and the Maratha casualties of dead and wounded amounted to near five thousand, while the total losses in the two year's fighting reached the staggering figure of 22000.[122]

"The firangis fought with genuine Valour and exhibited true soldierly spirit. The men on our side also fought like heroes of the Bharata War", says Chimaji Appa.[123] Beaten by the Marathas the Portuguese came to terms on the morning of 5th. The terms were accepted by the Marathas. The Portuguese agreed to vacate the fort of Bassein completely with their families within eight days. The Marathas, therefore, stopped their cannonade. The Portuguese were allowed to remove their families and all their baggage to ships. On 12th of May, the Portuguese vacated the place completely.[124] The gains to the Marathas may be mentioned in the words of Danvers : " They acquired the entire northern province from Versova to Daman with their four Chief ports, three hundred forty villages and a revenue of 2,50,000 rupees. They gained besides Bassein, eight cities, twenty fortresses, two fortified hills, the famous island of Salsette with the city of the same name and the island of Arnala Daman escaped as also Chaul and Diu.[125] On 23rd at an auspicious moment, the Marathas

hoisted their flag on the walls of Bassein.[126] A peace treaty was concluded by the combating parties through the mediation of the British at Bombay.[127] Thus the power of the Marathas had risen beyond all comprehencion. They had worsted the Sidi, and almost annihilated the Portuguese on the western coast in konkan.

By the end of May 1739, the Peshwa became Supreme in the konkan.

How the Peshwa humbled the incorrigible Angres on the Western coast in konkan is a sad story narrated in the subsequent pages.

It has already been stated earlier that the Konkan region comprising districts Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri except Bombay and Goa was a part of Swarajya territory of Shivaji. It was captured by the Mughals during Chatrapati Sambhaji's time. In this land of Konkan, the sidis of Janjira became the admiral of the Mughals and occupied Anjanwel and Suvarndurg[128] himself as a power near Alibag.The Portuguese became so strong on the Western coast that they would not allow to and for movement of any ship without having taken possession of their cartaz. In the south, Khem Sawant by a policy of friendship with the Mughals, increased his territory.[129] At the time of death of Aurangzeb, Kanhoji Angre was in command of the Maratha fleet. He adhered to the side of Tarabai in her efforts against Shahu, who had now returned to the home land from the Mughal Camp.[130] He made it the chief object of his policy to compel the maritime power nations on the west coast to acknowledge the Maratha Soverignty of the sea. Every ship was expected to sail with his Cartazes failing which they were deemed legitimate prizes and sent under escort to one of the Maratha ports.[131]

They were retorting like the Portuguese that they were soverigns of the Sea, and not pirates. They also demanded that other powers should seek their cartaz after paying a stipulated fee while sailing in the sea over which they claimed, to have established their jurisdiction.[132] The British thought that to crush the Angres was absolutely impossile, therefore, the only choice left to them was to consolidate their position and to multiply their resources, and in the meantime to give all possible support to the Sidi to make use of him as a foil to the Angre.[133]

As regards the Sidis and the Marathas their mutual relations continued to be far from peaceful. Several skirmishes took place between them during the year 1700. In that year, Marathas burnt several villages in the neighbourhood of Danda-Rajapuri. In retaliation

the Sidi blockaded the entrances by Sea to Angre's castee. While the Sidi was thus engaged, Kanhoji Angre laid waste Thull and other places, plundered those parts, and carried away booty and people on his way. These contests kept the Sidi quiet for same time.[134] However the Sidi charged the English that they were assisting the Marathas secretly.[135] However the Angre was the only enemy the English had to fear on Sea.

Rise of kanhoji Angre :

We have seen that after the capture of Raigad theMughal forces penetrated from the south in konkan and occupied the ports of Chaul and Rajapur. The Maratha navy was at that time in the vicinity of fort of kolaba and some ships were under the command of Kanhoji Angre. At this time Kanhoji Angre rose to the occasion and showed his prowess.

It is said that the Sidis had laid siege to the fort of Suvarnadurga for a considerable time. Kanhoji Angre was in the fort with Killedar Achaloji Mohite. Both severely attacked the besiegers. In one of the asaults, Kanhoji fell into the hands of the Sidi and was made a prisoner. exricating himself from the confinement, Kanhoji managed to reach the walls of the fort and beat off the Sidi's attack.[136] Thus Kanhoji won his first laurels in an engagment against the Sidis.

The auther of Kulabkar Angre Sarkhel[137] gives us a few more details about the early life of Kanhoji. In an ambush between Kanhoji and the Sidis, we have seen that Kanhoji was imprisoned and put into docks. On their way to Danda Rajapuri, the party camped near a river. Since it was cold, the soldiers made a log-fire and slept around it. Kanhoji saw his apportunity and set to the wooden stocks clamped on his hands and freed himself from the confinements. He killed five or ten soldiers by seizing a sword from one of them. Then he plunged into the river and swam across the creek and reached a village called Hamrul. There after, he went to the village Tadil and sought shelter in a house of a Faki, a Mussalman. The Sidi's soldiers pursued him. Faki put Kanhoji under blanket and made him lie near a child of his daughter. Thus the soldiers were deceived. The next day Kanhoji reached Suvarnadurg. After this incident (1689) Kanhoji was premoted to the post of second-in-command of the fleet and after five years of meritorious service, the title of Sarkhel was bestowed on him by Tarabai.[138]

In Konkan Kanhoji was working under Sidhoji Gujar who was his admiral.[139] In 1689 Kanhoji achieved signal victories ever the Sidis at Sagargad and Rajkot. The Sidi was compelled to accept the

terms of treaty by which it was agreed that the revenues of the territories of Rajkot, Sagargad, Underi and Parhur should be divided between the two,[140] viz. Sidhoji Gujar and Kanhoji Angre. Gujar did not agree to this proposal. Therefore, a quarrel arose between Sidhoji Gujar and Kanhoji in which Sidhoji was imprisoned by Kanhoji.[141] Shortly after, Sidhoi died in the prison (1698) Kanhoji succeeded to the chief command of the fleet.[142] In the year 1704 Kanhoji is addressed as Sarsubha of the Navy.[143]

Kanhoji was faced with a two fold task. As the admiral of the Marathas he had the responsibility of protecting the Maratha merchantman and the coastal traders from the depredations of the Sidis. His aim was to secure the savereignty of the sea for the Marathas.

In the year 1712, Kanhoji Angre was in the possession of the territory 120 miles in length and 60 in breadth. He was also in possession of great riches and formidable naval force.[144]

In 1713, mainly due to the persuasion of Balaji Vishwanath, the Peshwa of Shahu, Kanhoji acknowledged Shahu as the king of the Maratha fleet and placed in charge of the coast line from kolaba to Vengurla with central over the inland sorts of Palgad, Rasalgad, Kharepatan and Rajapur.[145] In the agreement of 1716 the Konkan territory was shown as distributed between Shahu Maharaj, Kanhoji Angre and Bhosles of Kolhapur as follows : Shahu should have subha Dabhol with 4 forts in it and Subha Maan and 2 fort, from Subha Chaul city of Chaul, Sudhagad, Bhorap and fort Raigad; Kanhoji Angre was given the territory of Kolaba, Khanderi, Mriggad, Saranggad from the territory of Subha Chauls From the territory of Kalyan, Manikgad, Vikatgad, Bahiraodurg, Shrivardhan, Manranjan Kothala; from Rajapur Subha Vijaydurg, Dungara, Jaygad, from Subha Dabhol Rasalgad, Fattegad, Kanakdurg, Suvarnadurg, Goa, Palgad, in all 19 forts. Sambhaji of Kolhapur was given Ganganbayda, Ratnagiri, Rahitgad of Subha Rajapur. Mahipalgad, Rajhauragad of Subha Belgaon, Prasidhagad, Rangana, Sindudurg, Malwan, Fort Kudal and Santoshgad of Subha Kudal.[146] Kanhoji Angre soon made his powerfelt in all directions with the Maratha fleet now dominating the coast; the English, the Portuguese and the Sidis all tried to attack Kanhoji and weaken his power, but without any succes. To reduce Angre's power, the English attacked Vijaydurg not less than seven times, and Khanderi not less than three times, not to speak of their March on Kolaba in combination with the Portuguese but each time they received a reverse.[147]

To stop Angre's depredations on 18th June 1718 war against Angria was declared by the English and the Portuguese. The Angre gave a crushing defeat on the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. The result of this defeat was that the claim of the Angre to the soverignty of the western sea was universally recognised. As the Portuguese Viceroy reported in his letter to his sovereign an January 1721, he found that all the ships of the North prepared to sail with his passports in order to be assured of their safety. He also levied a contribution of Rs.7 lakhs from the coastal villages of North Konkan.[148]

About the sametime, the decline of Portuguese power and the withdrawal of the Mughal claims to the Konkan (1720) further increased Angres' importance.[149] A treaty with Shahu Maharaj allowed Kanhoji full independence in the managment of Konkan and assured him ample resources for the navy so long as he acknowledged the king of Satara as his Liegerlord and paid him tribute. After the peace treaty with king Shahu, Kanhoji's strength was daily increasing. In 1721 Kanhoji's fleet was composed of gurabs and gallivats numbering eight or ten of these gurabs and forty or fifty gallivats.

Kanhoji died on 20th June 1729 A. D.[150] Till his death he was the master of the entire coastal area, excepting Dabhol and Anjanwel held by the Sidis of Janjira. In 1731, the district was divided between ruling houses of Satara and Kolhapur, while the territory, north of Vijaydurg came into the possession of Rajas of Satara.[151]

To check the growing power of the Maratha flect under Angre, the English in 1730, formed an offensive and defensive alliance, with Sawantwadi. They agreed that neither should attack the ships of the other, that the British ships attacked by the army should receive all the aid and assistance, that their ports should be open and free to each other for trade, that they should join to attack the sons of Kanhoji and that the British should supply the Bhosale of Sawantwadi with war like stores and artillery.[152] The Phond Sawant had also offensive and defensive alliance with the Sidi in 1733 against the Angre but had no particular result. In 1733, King Shahu declared war on the Sidis of Janjira. The immediate cause was the sudden and unproveked attack of Sidi Saat of the Janjira general on the temple of Parashram. Shahu retained the command of Konkan compaign with him and directed Pant Pratinidhi and Peshwa Baji Rao I to go to Konkan and fight the Sidis with the help of Angre brothers. After the death of Kanhoji in 1729, of his sons, Sekhoji succeeded him at Kolaba and was given sarkhelship by Shahu. Sambhaji, Sekhoji's brother, was given the charge of Suvarnadurg.

Part played by Sekhoji Angre in Konkan Campaign :

King Shahu had asked Sekhoji Angre to join Peshwa Bajirao to help him to achieve success in Konkan campaign. In the last week of April 1733, Sekhoji was busy in capturing Ratnagiri from the Sidi. After taking over Ratnagiri from the Sidi, Sekhoji feared same trouble round about Ratnagiri. So his contingent remained engaged in guarding Ratnagiri against possible attack of the Sidi.[153] Thereafter, Sekhoji met the Peshwa at Rajapuri and was with him for a fortnight from 9-7-1733.[154] Sekhoji considered Underi as a hand of fort Janjira and showed his readiness to go and capture it.[155]

At the beginning of June 1733 Shekhoji provided some artisans (Sailors, carpenters blacksmiths etc.) to the Peshwa as required by him to take suitable as as measures against the enemy.[156] Sekhoji also ruled out the probability of an open attack by the Sidi but asked the Peshwa to guard against the surprise attack by him.[157] At the same time, he took measures for opening an attack on the fort of Thal[158] after capturing Rajkot and Chaul.[159] Sekhoji informed his victory at Chaul[160] to Chimaji Appa. Tajhddin Khan had held the Mughal outpost at Rajkot near Chaul.[161] He had destroyed an old temple near Rajkot. He used to carry on espionage on the Angres for the Sidis.[162] His general Tukoji Kadu made an assault and captured Rajkot on 2nd June 1733.[163] Sekhoji Angre asked for Peshwa's help for an attack on Thal.[164] which was in the possession of the Sidis.It was attacked by Sekhoji. In the battle that ensued the horse under Sekhoji Angre was struck by a shell from Underi, Sekhoji fortunately escaped.[165]

The Maratha force under Sekhoji sealed and captured Thal on 7th July 1733.[166] The Marathas had earlier captured the gadhi (small hillock) of Rewas on 4th July 1733.[167] Those who offered resistance were killed and the rest fled away. Sekhoji explained to the Peshwa how he planned and carried by assault on the fort of Thal. He also suggested the measures for defending the captured places.[168] The English were alarmed at the capture of Thal by the Angre and were scared about his intentions about Underi.[169]

Operation against Underi :

By his letter of 8-6-1733, Sekhoji Angre assured Bajirao that he would start operations against Underi and promised to do his utmost to carry them out successfully.[170] By another letter of the same date, Sekhoji brought to the notice of the Peshwa the intention of the Portuguese at Uran to capture Negothane, Pen, Panvel and Ambet, the villages on the bank of revellet. To prevent Portuguese action, he

suggested to Bajirao to post some guards and men at important places to detach the Portuguese and others who carry succour to the Sidis.[171]

It was noticed that Tajuddin Khan had destroyed a temple of Bhargav at Chaul. Sekhoji undertook repairs of the temple and requested Bajirao to order one Khandi of (*Chunam*) to be given for the repairs of that temple.[172]

By the letter dated 14-6-1733, Sekhoji asked the Peshwa to send as many men as possible for undertaking of Underi campaign.[173] He also persuaded Abdul Majid Khan to raise the siege of Kalos which he did and gave it in the possession of the Marathas.[174] Fort Ravali near the river Pen, was captured by Sekhoji from the Sidi. In the month of July 1733 Bankaji Naik trusted and valiant and subordinate of Sekhoji occupied Bankot and Mandangad fortresses and led his victorious on armies towards Gowalkot and Anjanvel, which were only defended by Sidi Sat, as they were in the vicinity of the shrine at Chiplun. A fierce battle was fought at Gowalkot in the 2nd week of July and Sidi was defeated[175] but he fled into the fort and did not surrender it.

Bajirao captured the forts of Tala and Ghosala. All the Sidis Princes came together at the fort[176] Janjira and made vigorous preparations to oppose the Marathas. Bajirao opened the fire on the fortress from the main land.Manaji Angre, Sekhoji's brother attacked it from the sea and captured the Sidi's fleet in the ports. Thereafter Marathas destroyed the protecting fleet of the Sidi.[177] Pratinidhi was directed to capture Anjanvel.

Bakaji Mahadik was also asked to proceed against Anjanvel. He passed by the Parasharma temple and wrote on 16th July 1733 : "thus, on the way I found a Sidi officer intent on destroying this a (Parsharam) holy place, plundering and burning the houses of the Brahmins and slaughtering cows. "At once I attacked the enemy and after a stubborn fight pushed him back across the river."[178] How the religious feelings ran high is shown by the fact that the various communities inhabiting this region represented to the Peshwa that they were ready to collect funds of one lack by private contributions for preventing religious atrocities in future."[179]

On the advice from Sekhoji, Bajirao established outpost at Danda, Rajpuri, Nanivali, Kumhani points from which the Sidi was suspected of drawing provisions.[180] To seduce the garrison of Janjira the Peshwa was advised by Sekhoji to declare that his intentions were limited to secure the succession of Abdul Rahman and establish a lasting peace between the two neighbours.[181]

Sekhoji had recently captured an English ship called the Rose, which he held to ransam for Rs.7603 which was paid by the English.[182] In the Board's meeting of 13th July, the President of the English company at Bombay observed that "the combined arms of Raja Shahu and the Angre get the possession of town of Rajapur and a sort of fortress called Cocree (Kasa) with all the Sidis fleet of Grabs and Gallivats, their Guns and war like stores and nothing but the fort upon the Island in that harbour holds out against them."[183] The Marathas also made a violent attack on Janjira both on land and on sea.

On the 16th July 1733, Sekhoji wrote to Peshwa Bajirao of the rumour that the Sidis had handed over Underi to the English in return for their help against the Marathas.[184] This rumour came true. Balaji Ballal and Gangadhar Kasi were already negotiating with the English on behalf of Sekhoji Angre and trying to secure their neutrality, but to no effect.[185] In a letter to Peshwa Bajirao, Sekhoji Angre on 20th July 1733, referred to the combination of the English, the Portuguese and the Sidis. He mentioned their proposed plan of attack on the marathas. The Portuguese were to attack on Chaul and the English at Kolaba. This could campel Sekhoji to recall his troops engaged at Anjanwel and Janjira. The combined forces were to attack Rajapuri.[186] Sekhoji Angre suggested to Bajirao to call help from Shahu Maharaj. He wished that the combined fleets of Kolaba and Vijaydurg would raise the siege of Kolaba and attack Bombay which would be short of troops.[187]

The predominent position of the Marathas thus upset the balance of power in the Konkan. This awakened the English to a sense of danger, for they had already suffered at the hands of Angre and now if his power was to be supreme in the Konkan it would be bad for their safety.[188] Therefore, they decided to capture Underi which is nearnest to Bombay.[189] The Enlish directed their battleship called "MARY" under the command of James Inchbird[190] with a force to aid the Sidi in defending his island of Underi. The ship arrived off Underi on the 16th and getting down on the island, hoisted the English flag under the discharge of the artillery of the fort and the gallivats.[191] The nearly island Khanderi was under the charge of Angre. On seeing the British flag flying on Underi, the Angre continued firing briskly his batteries at Underi from Khanderi and from Thal. But no damage was done. Therefore there was no need to continue firing there further.[192] On the 18th, gallivats and boats returned to Bombay with the families of the garrison.[193]

Sekhoji Angre was anxious about an alliance of the English and the Sidis against, him and therefore suspended the shell-fire against Underi[194] and sent messengers to the British for negotiations. In a letter dated 4th August 1733, Sekhoji Angre informed the Peshwa of the progress of the negotiations. The English insisted that they should be permitted a free passage and need not possess Dastak of the Angre.[195] Sekhoji Angre, gave instant support to the Peshwa. Sekhoji died on 29th August,1733 unlike him, his successors defied the Peshwa's orders. Therefore the Peshwa had to punish the Angre. How it happened is narrated in the following pages.

Ever since the rise of the Maratha confederacy under Shahu, the problem that always reset its leader, the Peshwa, was how to compel the recalcitrant Maratha Sardars to pull together. After the defeat of Sidis, Bajirao got convinced that unless all the chiefs in Konkan were brought under his subjection, there cannot be peace and prosperity in Konkan. The Peshwa's struggle with the Dabhades and Angre and lateron with the Gaikwad was a matter of principle, of policy. The Peshwas were fighting to maintain an equilibriam in the Maratha condederacy by enforcing interdependence of its various members in matters of finances and Jagirs. For this, the Peshwas had to bear in their life time a great deal of criticism.

According to the Policy of the Peshwa, as mentioned above, Bajirao-I after humiliation of the Sidi set forth to impair the strength of the Angres by fomenting their quarrels.[197] It is already stated that after the death of Sekhoji on 29th August 1733, dispute broke out between his brothers Sambhaji and Manaji. Manaji asked Bajirao's intervention. Bajirao with the tacit consent of king Shahu divided the Angre's estate among the two brothers. The territory from Suvarnadurg to Vijaydurg continued with Sambhaji who was given title of the Sarkhel, while Manaji was alloted the share held by Sekhoji namely territory north of Suvarnadurg with headqurters at Kolaba and given the title of Vajaratmab. A treaty to this effect was concluded between the two brothers.[198]

The disputes between Manaji and Sambhaji, not with standing the division of Kanhoji's estates agreed upon, continued and led to open clashes. In 1737, Manaji, with the help of Peshwa, repulsed as attack by Sambhaji and the Portuguese.[199]

In December 1736, Commodore Bagwel with four grabs was crusing in search of Sambhaji's fleet at Gheria and on 22nd noticed nine of his grabs and thirteen gallivate coming from the Vijaydurg river. The commodore chased them and did much damage and killed their admiral. Thereafter, they took refuge in the Rajapur river.[200]

In 1740, Sambhaji took possession of Bharatgad, Bhagwantgad and greater part of the wadi, in the Salshi province.[201] In 1740 Sambhaji threatened Kolaba[202] itself. But the Peshwa's timely help saved Manaji.[203] Having received the news about Sambhji's attack on Kolaba, the Portuguese anticipated the perilous consequences that may result out of this attack. Therefore, they decided to help Manaji to prevent the fall of Kolaba and despatched an aid by sea to Manaji.[204]

On 6th April 1739 it was reported to Chimaji Appa that the Dutch fleet attacked the fort Vijaydurga so Sambhaji Angre attacked the Dutch fleet strongly by sailing in their direction. Their two gallivats were captured, sunk and the cargo thereon was brought into Vijaydurg fort.[205] In the same month, Sambhaji claimed Korla and Revdanda as his.[206]

In the treaty of Bassein that was concluded with the Marathas by the Portuguese, there was and article regarding Angre which runs as follows : " If in conveying the Hindu, Christian or Muslim families from Bassein more transport ships are required, they should be supplied by the Marathas and should be allowed to reach their destination without being molested by Angre." [207]

In 1740 Sambhaji noticed the Portuguese fleet escorting the ships full of rice going to Goa. So he attacked and took possession of the ships loaded with rice and destroyed the fleet.[208] Sambhaji Angre did not give up his attempt to capture Kolaba. Sambhaji Angre's coming up to Kolaba was in concert with some of Manaji's own officers that he had accordingly got possession of the fortress of Alibag.[209] Thereafter, he raised batteries against Kolaba. He would have got it into his hand had not the British fleet appeared in that criticl juncture off Kolaba on 31st March 1740.[210]

Thereafter, with the help of his half brother Tulaji, Sambhaji again attacked Manaji's territory, took Alibag, Thal, and Sagargad, laid siege to Kolaba and cut off the garrison's supply of fresh water.[211] Tulaji was bravely fighting alongwith Sambhaji to capture Hirakot.[212] In these disputes Manaji appealed to the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao. Shahu Raja also ordered Bhagwantrao Amatya to go to the help of Manaji and inform the news of defeat of Tulaji Angre.[213] Chimaji Appa went to Konkan to help Manaji with Peshwa Balaji Bajirao in April 1740.[214] The British too at this time came to help Manaji with their Squadron.[215] Manaji attacked the besiegers and took Tulaji prisoner (9th April 1740).[216] At this time the Portuguese sieged Chaul, Pal and Mirgad.[217]

The Peshwa brought Tulaji to Poona as captive and released him.[218] The English commodore joined Manaji with his division on

the 3rd[219] and chased Sambhaji's fleet to the Rantagiri coast and forced Sambhaji to retire to Suvarnadurg.[220] Suspecting Peshwa's evil designs of keeping Kolaba for himself, Manaji immediately reconciled with Sambhaji through the mediation of the English.[221] Lately in 1741 Angres' vessels had been cruizing and taken several vessels between Mangalore and Mount Dilly.[222] Sambhaji, free from the risk of attack from the north, spread his power over Rantagiri sub-division of Dabhol and over the greater part of Sawantwadi.[223]

Sambhaji Angre was down with illness for three months. He died on 12th January 1742.[224] Thereafter, Manaji went to Satara before Shahu Raja and requested him to make him Sarkhel as the eldest surviving member of Kanhoji's family. This claim was disputed by Sambhji's half brother Tulaji. Shahu Maharaja declared that he would confer the Sarkhelship held priviously by Sambhaji on any one of the Angres family who would captured Anjawel and Govalkot, the two important posts which even the Peshwa Bajirao couldnot capture during the war of 1733 and which still remained as outposts of the Janjira State.[225] Tulaji at once undertook the campaign with the help of King Shahu and with great heroism captured Govalkot and Anjanvel on 25th January 1745 and immediately communicated the happy news to the Chhatrapati.[226]

After the death of Sambhaji Angre in January 1742, Shahu Maharaja bestowed Sarkhelship on Tulaji Angre. In 1742, during the first year of his office, as Sarkhel, his men seized the Jupitar, one of the finest vessels of Europe, which La Bourdanais had despatched to Goa for provisions.[227] In November 1742, the Sidi of Janjira found that Tulaji's fleet and some English ships were locked up in a combat in which Tulaji's boats succeeded in carrying away two of his trading boats.[228] In December, the Bombay gurab encountered Tulaji's Gheria squadron of 9 gurabs and there was stiff fight between them for half an hour but, in the ensuing nightfall, Tulaji's fleet managed to get away without any loss.[229] In April 1743, Tulaji's gallivats attacked the English ketch Salamander, when Manaji found the English boat engaged, he pushed out in person with gallivats and chased his brother's fleet away.[230] The havoc of thirty years' war between the Angre and the English was noticed by both and they agreed to have a perpetual peace. But on receipt of Capt. Inchbird's[231] report, the British thought of commenting the union between the English and the Peshwa to punish the Angre. The report states : "that the Marathas (Peshwa) were too jealous of Sambhaji's power and so many hostilities had already past between them, that they were bent on reducing him and

would attack him as soon as the proper season would allow their entering upon the action and were very pressing to gain a declaration of the Company's intention." The Bombay Council decided to side with the Peshwa and assist him in any expedition against the Angre.[232] Tulaji, who succeeded Manaji was active and brave but naughty and altogether lacking in political foresight. He was considering himself as a servant of the crown and started defying the orders of the Peshwa. Tulaji, a courageous and daring seaman, followed a line of action dictated by his personal needs and selfish interest.

In November 1744, the Viceroy of Goa received numerous letters from the local people of Bassein to relieve them from the Maratha oppression. To achieve this, two Portuguese frigates with a Carvan of 21 ships were ordered to proceed to the North. The armada of the Angre attacked them. For six days the Portuguese and the Angre fought but with no result.[233] By a letter dated February 11, 1745 addressed to the Viceory of Goa, the Angre of Kolaba showed his willingness to help the Portuguese if they wished to take back Karanja (*Uran*) and Bassein from the Peshwa. His reason was that proximity of the Peshwa was irksome to him.[234] This shows that Manaji's relations with the Peshwa steadily deteriorated.

Relation between Manaji and Shankaraji Pant Phadke were not friendly either. Manaji had captured a ship of certain merchant by name Nathas, in whom Shankaraji was interested. As netort an answer to this move Shankaraji captured a ship of Kharepatan possessing Manaji's permit. Manaji demanded its release through the Peshwa but shrewed Shankaraji explained to the Peshwa how it was a question of right rather than the release of a ship. In 1744, Peshwa's men took the fort of Bhairavgad belonging to Manaji. To retaliate, the latter despatched three gurabas and thirty gallivats to Bassein to impede the Peshwa's armada.[235]

Angre and Savants :

For the subsistance of his army Tulaji attacked the Savants, took Bhagwantgad and Bhairagad, crossed the Kudal river defeated the Sawants at Bamborde and compelled the Savants to cede two-fifth of the Salshi revenue.[236] The Political situation in the State of Sawantwadi was not favourable to the Wadi rulers to attack the Angres as they were without any friends from whom they could expect support. Their naval squadron at Karli river was burnt down by Ismail Khan, and the one in the creek of Terekhol was partly destroyed and partly carried away to Goa.[237] Even in this weakened condition, the Savants systematically struck back and in 1745, the five districts were

recovered.[238] Three years later in February 1748, again the Sawant attacked Govalkot, Anjanvel and the fort of Mudagad which was in the possession of Tulaji Angre. Thereupon, Tulaji attacked the fort of Bharatgad. This strategically important fort was on the southwest of the Kalvali creek on a hill commanding the Malwan village of Masura. While the attack was in force, the Sawants were negotiating with Tulaji Angre to desist him from the attack. But Tulaji stuck to his gun and continued his attack vigorously. Therefore, the Savants stepped up the attack and forced the Angre to evacuate the fort. Bharatgad and the districts between the Kudal and the Carner rivers were recovered and the third raid of Tulaji was successfully beaten off.[239] His attempts against the Chiefs of Vishalgad and Bavda met with a similar fate.[240] To keep alive his fleet he raided Malabar ports and pounced on merchant ships. The Southern portion of the west coast was at this time controlled by Tulaji Angre who had his residence at Vijaydurg and the northern portion by Ramaji Mahdeo, the Peshwa's governor of Kalyan. Both had contracted bitter hatred towards each other during the last several years. The Peshwa did not deal with the Angre directly. He left this matter in the hands of Ramaji Mahadeo. However Tulaji was anxious to maintain friendly relations with the Peshwa[241] since he became Sarkhel in 1745. Tulaji Angre plundred every English vessel that came in his way. But no attack was made on him till the joint expendition of the Peshwa and the English in 1755[242]

Tulaji's territories extended from Bombay to Malwan to the south, a sea port about 120 miles from Bombay and it spread island near by 76 miles. He had all ports on the western coast in his possession. He generally kept up an army of 30,000 sepoys and Topasses. His gunners and sea offecers were mostly renegado Europeans; he had a large train of artillery, besides the cannons on his forts, ships and 12 elephants. The naval force of Tulaji Angre consisted of about 15 gurabas which carried six and nine pounders and great number of men with small arms; five ketches, two ships of 40 guns and about 40 gallivats and other small crafts.[243] During 1751, Tarabai then bitterly opposing the Peshwa, instigated both the Portuguese and Tulaji Angre and promised the former the return of their territory of Bassein, if they would put down the Peshwa. It was so because of the Peshwa's policy therefore, in this difficult situation, to prevent an alliance of the Portuguese of Goa and the English of Bombay.[244] The Peshwa, for sometime, was trying his utmost to gain the friendship of the English. When Tulaji came to know this, he

deputed his emissary to the English of Bombay in October 1754, with a proposal of peace treaty between them. The terms he offered were liberal enough to be acceptable. But because of Peshwa's overtures the English were not in a mood to accept them. They flately refused to recognise Angre's right to issue passes for their trading vessels, insisted on the restoration of all the ships seized by him and asked him to depute a man of status to talk about peace.[245] Finally the English turned down Tulaji Angre's proposal for peace.[246] The English of Bombay were the bitter enemies of the Angre; so also the Peshwa. But either of them alone could not defeat Angre. Therefore, the Peshwa's proposal of friendship was accepted by the English with the sole intention of self interest and with no more love for the Peshwa than for Tulaji. Ramji Mahadeo, Peshwa's subedar of Salsette became instrument in concluding the agreement for making joint assault on Angre's strongholds. All the doubts raised by, on behalf of the Peshwa Ramaji Mahadeo had talks with the Bombay Governor Bourcher and agreed to engage the services of the Bombay navy for putting down Tulaji Angre on the following terms.[247] :

(1) All the marine shall be immediately under the command of the English, and the management of all affairs, both by sea and land carried on by the approbation of both parties.

(2) All Vessels, Whatever that may be taken from Tulaji, shall be equally divided between the English and Marathas, except the "Restoretion" which is to be the sole property of the English.

(3) Bankot and (fort) Himattgad with the river belonging thereto, and with five villages to the southward of the said river, to be delivered to the English as the Hon'ble company's property forever, and the Marathas not to levy any additional inland duties.

(4) That the English engage to keep the sea and prevent Angre's fleet from throwing suceour into any place that may be attacked, but at this season only surrounding Anjanvel and Zoy Vizoy.

(5) All ammunition, guns and other stores that may be taken in the several forts in Angria's territories to belong entirely to the Marathas.

(6) If Manaji's territories ate jointly attacked, the fort of Candery, with the harbour, to be delivered into the Hon'ble Company with the Village Ravansea, Ramjaykar, Sarali, Sharny, Mandavem, Kolgaon, Danbarem kihim and Avas.

(7) Any other articles that may be necessary tobe agreed upon to be setteled between the Governor and Nana Pandit Pradhan.

These terms were finalised on 19th March 1755.

The above mentioned agreement was drawn in September 1755 and confirmed in March 1756. In October 1755, Admiral Watson came to Bombay from the Coromandel coast, with his squadron, and got ready to act against Angre. While the preparations were going on for the concerned expendition, the admiral sent his first Leiutenent, Sir Williams Hewett, in an armed Vessel, to sound the harbour of Vijaydurga and make proper observation. This was successfully done. The Angre who observed the ship hovering about the harbour for several days had ordered out some vessels to attack it but Sir William returned safe to Bombay.[248]

The Peshwa also deputed Samsherbahadar to Ratnagiri and asked the English to send the fleet there to help him.[249]Samsherbahadar and Dinkar Pant reached Devrukh with their force and from there they were advancing towards Suvarnadurg.[250]

Ramaji Mahadeo marched against Tulaji Angre and went to Sasti. In the meantime, the Sidis from Surat came down heavily on Manaji Angre. They laid siege to Manaji's fort at Alibag. Ramji Mahadeo went to Manaji's help with the English force. The battle ensued in which the Sidi's 1500 men were killed along with two sardars. The Sidi was pushed to Underi. Thereafter, all Maratha naval ships and the Warships of the English marched towards Vijaydurg,[251] (20 March 1755).

The East India Company appinted commodore James, the commander-in-chief of the company marine force in India to lead the expedition against the Angre with the help of Maratha fleet.[252] He sailed on the 22nd of March in the ship "Protector" containing forty four guns. He was joined by the Maratha fleet consisting of seven gurabas and sixty gallivats and having on board 10,000 land forces at Chaul. Departing from Chaul anchored again fifteen miles to the North of Suvarndurg. Here Ramaji Pant disembarked with the troops in order to cover the rest of the way by land route.[253] On request of the Government of Bombay, the Madras authorities sent troops under captain live and naval force under admiral Watson to join the operation.[254]

Ramaji Pant sent from Suvarnadurg land forces to capture Bankot and Himatgad.[255] He also attacked and carried the forts of kanakdurg, Fategad and Gova which are inside Suvarnadurg.[256]

All the forces now aimed at capturing Gheria on 7th April, the English fleet began to fire upon the Angre's fleet from the ships and share. "The Angre's men also exerted themselves with uncommon

industry, flinging over board all their lumber to lighten their vessels, not only crowding all the sails they could bend, but also hanging up their garments, and even their turbans, to catch every breath of air.[257] On 7th April 1755 commodore James began to fire upon Angre from the ships and shore and landed a number of people under the cover of it opposite to the gate of the fort. At half past twelve they were out and broke open the gate of the fort and entered without much opposition. Thus the British completed their Victory.[258] The British entered fort Gova without resistance. They found 44 guns in it. In the other two forts, Viz. Fatehgad and Kanakdurg, they found 20 guns each and in Suvarnadurg they found about 50 guns. They burnt and devasteted all the houses in the . Suvarndurg is built on an island with 2$^{1/2}$ fathoms water all round.[259] The Peshwa's landforce marched to take Bankot and Himatgad which they accupied in April 1755.[260]

Ramaji Mahadeo, the Peshwa's subhedar treacherously captured the forts of Suverndurg, Bankot, Palgad and Rasalgad. Within eight days, the Peshwa's genaral captured eight forts belonging to Angre. Angre's men were brifed. So there was no resistence from Angre's side. Ramchandra Pant intended to captured Vijaydurg in order to bring an end of Angre's kingdom.[261]

As already stated Samsher Bahadur and Dinkar Mahadeo were deputed by the Peshwa on the Konkan campaign. From Poona they marched through Ambaghat and laid siege to Ratnagiri. The Peshwa instructed the English to help Samsher Bahadur in capturing Ratnagiri. But the English refused the help in the rainy season.[262]

However, after rainy season Commodore James was instructed to lay off large British fleet in that fort to prevent the Angre throwing in succour.[263] In the meantime the Peshwa's troops captured Anjanvel and Gowalkot on the 14th of January 1756.[264] Fort Ratnagiri and other places belonging to Angre were captured on 18th February 1756.[265]

On 6th February 1756 a meeting of the council of Land and Sea offecers was held in which several matters were settled particularly the shares of the prize money upon a presumption of success.[266] On the same day, the land forces under the command of calonel clive and the naval force under Admiral Watson started from Bombay to join the Maratha fleet in a creek to the northword of Gheria (Vijaydurg).[267]

The admiral arrived before Vijaydurg on the 11th February. The firing started on 12th. For about half an hour there was brisk firing from the fort but the incessant fire from the ships destroyed the houses

in the fort. At 4 in the afternoon of the same day, a chance shot falling on one of Angre's ship set fire to his entire fleet and in a short time all the seventy ships belonging to Angre were burnt to ashes.[268] The fort was surrendered and the British soldiers took possession of it on the 3rd March 1756. The Marathas who were attempting to take possession of it were prevented by Captain Forbes by drawing his sword with a threat to cut the head of those who would advance a step further.[269] So Captain Forbes was allowed to take possession of the fort. Forbes found in the fort 250 guns ten lakhs of rupees in cash, Six brass mortars and about 4 thousand pound worth goods and valuables.[270]

Tulaji surrendered to the Marathas. He had been seeking peace terms with the Peshwa which were not even considered. The President was glad to hear that Tulaji's whole fleet was destroyed. He was insisting on Watson to bring Tulaji to Bombay as Captive.[271] But the Marathas refused as they had no orders from the Peshwa to that effect. The British similarly refused to handover the fort to the Marathas.[272] This was reported to the Peshwa in May 1756.[273]

There upon the Peshwa got annoyed with the English and wrote a strong letter asking them to depute a person to Poona to settle everything.[274] Accordingly, the British deputed a person and they came to an agreement on 12th October 1756,[275] by which Vijaydurg was handed over to the Marathas, in lieu of Bankot and Ten villages to be ceded to the British. On receipt of possession of Vijaydurg from the British, the province of vijaydurg was placed under the admirality of Anandrao Dhulap and Suvarnadurg in charge of Ramji Mahadeo.[276]

When the English were asked to give share in the booty from Gheria, they said that the booty was taken away by His Majesty's men on whom the East India Company had no control.[277] Tulaji Angre's family was taken in the fort and he himself was sent as a prisoner to the fort Rajmachi near Raigad and kept in confinement in various forts till his death in 1786 A.D.[278]

Notes & References

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108. Forrest, op.cit., p.28.
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192. Pub.D.P.54., p.245.
193. Forrest, Home series, Vol. II, p.54.
194. S.P.D., Vol.33, L-68.
195. P.D.Diary 5 A, pp.211.
196. S.P.D., Vol.3, L-42.
197. Sinha, Rise of the Peshwa, p.185.
198. Sardesai, N.H.M., Vol. II, p.177.
199. Maharashtra State Gazetter, Ratnagiri, p.166.
200. Pub. Deptt. Diary, No. 12 A, 1739, pp. 30, 39.
201. Nairne, Konkan, p.88.
202. Pub. Deptt. Diary 13-A/30, March 1740, pp.209-211.
203. Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol.2, pp.17, 27.
204. Kakodkar, op.cit., pp.390-391.
205. Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 34, L-156; Sen, Early career of Kanhoji Angria and other papers, pp.30-31.
206. P.D., Vol.33, L-464.
207. Forest, Home Series, Vol.I, p.40.
208. Dhabu, Kulabkar Angre, p.61.
209. Pub. Deptt. Diary, 134, dated 30-3-1740, pp.209-211.
210. Ibid., p.216.
211. Pub. Deptt. Diary 13-B, 1740, pp.218-219.
212. Angre Shakawali, p.90.
213. Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol.8, L-157.
214. Ibid., M.I.S., Vol.2, pp.17, 27; P.D.Vol. 13A, 1740, pp.229-33.
215. Pub. Deptt. Diary 12-A, of 1740, pp.212-13.
216. Ibid. 13-B of 1740, pp.253-54; Patre Yadi Vagaire, L-35.
217. Ibid.
218. Parasnis, Brahmendra Charitra, L-154.
219. Pub. Deptt. Diary 13-B 1740, pp. 226-27.
220. Ibid., pp.253-60.
221. Ibid., pp.59-60.

222. Fort St. George, Tellicherry consultations, Nov. 1741, p.47.
223. Dhabu, op.cit., Samalochana, p.85.
224. Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol.3, Ls.308, 345.
225. Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol.6, L. 153.
226. Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol.2, p.101; Pub. Deptt. Diary 18-A of 1745, pp.41-46. King Shahu was highly gratified at this success and named the places Gopalgad (*Anjanwel*) and Govindgad (*Gowalkot*); But these names did not come into popular use, Sardesai, N.H.M., II, p.259.
227. Saletare, Indian Pirates, p.110.
228. Banaji, Bombay and the Sidis, p.102.
229. Pub. Deptt. Diary 15-C, dt.10 December 1742, p.633.
230. Pub. Deptt. Diary 16-A/1743, p.134.
231. Captain Inchbird was depted by the English to help Manaji against Sambhaji's intending attack on Kolaba.Pub. Deptt.Diary 13-A of 1740, pp.212-13; Captain Inchbird's report to the President, Pub. Deptt. Diary Ibid., pp. 226-227.
232. Pub. Dept. Diary, No. 13-B, pp.305-306.
233. Parvate, op.cit., p. 180.
234. Ibid, p. 181.
235. Apte, op.cit., p.247, note.
236. Maharashtra State Gazetters, Ratnagiri, p.167.
237. Mhamai, The Sawants of Wadi and the Portuguese, p.67.
238. Ratnagiri Gazetters (Revised), p.168.
239. S.P.D., Vol.24, Ls.86, 101, 98, 103, 99, 110, 115, 30, 113, 41; Vol. 34, L.34.
240. S.P.D., Vol.24, Ls.20, 25; Pant Pratinidhi Bakhar in Bharatwarsh, Vol.I, p.56; Shahu Roznishi, pp. 225-229, and 236 and 240.
241. S.P.D., Vol.24, Ls.46, 48.
242. Bendrey, Downfall of Angre's Navy, p.37.
243. Ibid., pp.37, 38.
244. Sardesai, N.H.M., II, p.357.
245. Pub. Deptt. Diary, Vol.27, (1754), pp.309-315.
246. Ibid., Vol.28-I of 1755, p.30.
247. Secret and Political Deptt. Diary, Vol.I, pp.4-5, Sardesai, N.H.M., II, pp.358-59.
248. Bendrey, pp.cit., pp.38-39.
249. S.P.D.D., Vol.I, dated 12 April 1755, p.14,
250. Ibid., pp.6-7.
251. Sardesai, op.cit., Vol.II, p.360.
252. Forest, Maratha series, Vol. I, pp.89-90; Nairne, op.cit., p.90.

253. Ibid.
254. Forest, op.cit., pp.102-3.
255. S & P.D.D.; Vol.I, of 1755, p-8.
256. Ibid., p.14.
257. Ibid., Letter from Commodore James to the President and council dated 12 April 1755.
258. Secret & Pol Deptt., Vol.I, Dated 12 Apri 1755, p.7.
259. Ibid.
260.
261. Phalke, Shinde Shahichya Itihasachi Sadhne, Vol.3, Ls.160, 162.
262. S.P.D., Vol.24, Ls.91, 124-126.
263. Secret and Political Deptt. Diary, Vol.I, pp.19-21.
264. S.P.D., Vol.24, Ls. 117-119.
265. Ibid., Ls.121, 160.
266. Bendrey, Downfall of Angre's Navy, p.39;
Forrest Maratha series Vol. I. p. 108.
267.
268. Secret and Political Deptt. Diary, Vol.2, pp.34-36; For admiral Watson's report which gives minue details of the capture of fort Gheria, see Bendre, op.cit., pp.42-43.
269. Bendrey, op.cit., p.40.
270. Ibid., p.42; Nairne, Konkan, p.94;
S.P.D., Vol.24, Ls. 162-179.
271. Pub. Deptt. Diary, 29-A, p.93;
Forrest, Maratha series, Vol.I, p.108.
272. Secret and Political Deptt. Diary, No.2, pp.39-40.
273. S.P.D., Vol.24, L.173.
274. Secret and Political Deptt. Diary, No.2, pp.114-115.
275. Ibid., pp.116-118; Pub.Deptt. Diary, Vol.29-B, pp.54-62.
276. Apte, op.cit., p.249.
277. Pub. Deptt.Diary, Vol.29-B, pp.554-62.
The Instructions given to Messrs Thomas by Feild and John Speneer, who were deputed to Pune to negotiate with the Peshwa, are found in detail in this Diary.
278. Sardesai, Maratha Riyasat, Vol.6, p.184.

Chapter - VIII

STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY OF THE KONKAN REGION (1756 TO 1796)

Maratha-Sidi Conflict :

After Tulaji had been removed, the Peshwa turned his attention to Janjira and Surat and requested the British help for the purpose in 1758. But the British did not respond to the Peshwa. They took measures against Sidi's encroachments. In 1757 when Manaji Angre was in the Deccan helping the Peshwa against the Nizam, his territory was invaded and plundered by the Sidis. On his return Manaji cleared out the Sidi's[1] encroachment and attacked Danda-Rajapuri.[2] Manaji also attacked Underi and found there Brahmins and their wives from the villages of Saswane, Awas, Satiranje and Bhal as captives. They were released by Manaji.[3] The Marathas captured Underi from the Sidis in February 1759 and appointed Naro Trimbak Soman as Killedar.[4]

Manaji died on 13th September 1758.[5] He was succeeded by his eldest son Raghuji in 1759.[6] On capturing the island of Underi near Khanderi, it was named Jayadurg. The fort of Kausa or Padmadurg was also captured on 28th January 1760 with the help of Raghuji.[7]

At the same time the Marathas had laid siege to the fort of Janjira. But the siege could not be continued vigorously as the Maratha forces had to march to the north to strike against Ahmed Shah Abdali. The Marathas suffered heavy loss at Panipat. Grief striken Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao died on 23rd June 1761. This event gave the Sidis the necessary respite to recover their position. The English mediated between the Marathas and the Sidis and proposed that the Marathas should restore the Fort of Underi to the Sidis. In a letter dated 9th October, 1761, Peshwa Madhvrao refused to comply with the suggestion.[8] In the battle that ensued between the Sidis and the Marathas, the English joined the Sidis and hoisted British flag at Janjira.[9] The Sidi himself had explained how he was reduced to the precarious position by the Marathas, in the following letter addressed to the English by the Sidi on 14th September 1761.

"The Marathas attacked me again these three years ..... to the great ruin of us and their own people having plundered us of everything. The country I was mending is also ruined. Now to see the country as before, it will take 15 years. When I can see it in that manner in case it is not invaded. They cut off all the gardens, carried away about 60 guns from Conkery, as also all manner of effects belonging to the Sarkar for 15 years. So I know not what is to be done about it. They gave me my share of 18 years of produce of the country."[10] The Sidis renewed their attack on Maratha territory, although the English President had warned the Sidis about committing atrocities against the Marathas.[11]

When the Marathas captured the fort of Underi the English proposed a settlement of the dispute between the Marathas and the Sidi Ibrahim Khan. President Crommel proposed that the Marathas should restore the fort of Underi to the Sidis. Peshwa Madhavrao declined to comply with the suggestion.[12] The Sidis did not detter. They renewed their activities of attacking the Maratha territory. The English president did not like the depredations committed by the Sidi's by attacking their country, murdering and plundering their subjects. The Sidi also captured one of the Maratha Gallivants.[13] Thereupon, the Marathas seized one of the Sidi's Gallivants. This retaliation was brought to the notice of the Sidis by the President.[14] While the matters stood thus, Sidi Ibrahim died on 15th September 1762 and Sidi Yakut succeeded on 3rd October 1762.[15] Thereafter, the Sidi's outrages of the Maratha territory continued. On 17th July 1762[16] and 3rd August 1763[17] the Sidis attacked a few villages and burnt and looted them. They also ravaged the territory in the vicinity of Raigad. So the Peshwa deputed Shankaraji Keshav Phadke to attack the territory of the Sidis and put an end to their depredations.[18] During the next three years attacks and counterattacks by both the parties on each other's territory continued. During 1766-67 Peshwa Madhavrao sent certain proposals to the Sidis for a settlement.[19] It seems that these attempts failed and the war had to be renewed. The English as usual, assisted Sidi Yakut and sent ships to his help. They feared that if Abdul Rahim, the claimant of the Sidi's Masnod who was supported by the Marathas, was successful, the Marathas would soon take possession of Janjira.[20] The English saw twenty-five Maratha gallivats cruizing off Consa[21] fort. Therefore, the English tried to dissuade Sidi Abdul Rahim from siding with the Marathas. The aim of the English was to prevail upon Sidi Abdul Rahim to come to terms with Sidi Yakut.[22] Abdul Rahim refused to yield.[23] Thereupon, Captain Join Hopkin attacked Abdul

Rahim on 22nd November 1767.[24] Abdul Rahim made such a vigorous counter attack that the English ran away.[25] To retrieve their position, the English president sent reinforcement with the ship 'Worcester' to Janjira with Major John Gouin.[26] On 1st December 1767, the English launched a vigorous attack and defeated Sidi Abdul Rahim,[27] who fled and sought protection in the Maratha territory.[28] On behalf of Sidi Abdul Rahim the Maratha general approached the English president for a settlement.[29] The English, therefore, made an attempt to bring settlement between Sidi Yakut and Sidi Abdul Rahim. But the settlement could not be arrived at as neither party was ready to give in.[30] Thus, a stalemate continued thereafter for a year and a half.

In December 1769, Raghuji Angre with his fleet and with the help of the Peshwa's forces attacked Madgad and captured it[31] and handed it over to Abdul Rahim on 10th December 1769.[32] On hearing this, Sidi Yakut besieged Madgad.[33] The Peshwa sent reinforcement to relieve Madgad.[34] Peshwa Madhavrao protested against the English help to the Sidi, pointing out the fact, that in the past, the Marathas did not help the Dutch to establish a factory at Rajapur, because they were the enemy of the English. The President said that as long as Salsette would remain with the Marathas the English will have to depend for provisions on the Sidi's territory and therefore they had to protect them.[35] Thereafter, the Peshwa decided to attack Sidi Yakut. The Maratha force in Konkan was joined by Sidi Abdul Ibrahim.[36] The skirmishes between the Maratha force and the Sidis took place at three places on different dates. Neither side gained anything. Hence both the sides came to a settlement on 26th February 1772.[37] It was agreed that out of 11 mahals, $5^{1/2}$ were to belong to the Peshwa and $5^{1/2}$ to the Sidis and that each should manage his own portion as before.[38] Sidi Yakut and Sidi Rahim had also settled their differences. It was agreed that Sidi Abdul Rahim should manage the Subha of Rajapuri.[39] But in July 1772 Sidi Abdul Rahim staged a successful coup and he ascended to the masnad on 29th July 1772.[40] Mostyn arrived at Poona in October 1772, voiced his concern over the coup as he did not like Sidi Abdul Rahim's action in seizing the Masnad without consulting the English. He told the Poona Government on 17th October 1772, that during the war between the Sidis and the Marathas, the English would stand by the Sidis and preserve Janjira for them.[41] In 1777 St. Lubin, the envoy of the king of France, arrived at the Court of the Peshwa for the purpose of drawing up an agreement with the Marathas for joint action against the English[42] and the Sidis[43] of Janjira. But it seems that the French did not act according to the agreement.

The Sidis continued their policy of harassing the Marathas. In 1781-82 the Sidis looted the neighbouring area. The Marathas attacked the Sidi's outpost at Nadvipura and brought the brothers of the Thanedar as prisoners to Raigad.[44] These prisoners were later on released.[45] Sidi Abdul Rahim and Sidi Yakut died in the year 1784 so Sidi Johar , the commandant of Janjira Fort seized the Chieftainship.[46] So Balu Main, the younger brother and the successor of the Sidi Abdul Rahim approached the English for protection. But the English remained neutral in this matter.[47]

Balu Mian had approached the Marathas for help and protection which was assured by the Poona Government.[48] The Fort Victoria Resident brought this to the notice of Bombay Company. Thereupon, the company decided to give asylum to Sidi Zamrud in British territory.[49] The commercial activities alone brought the English to take an active part in the doings of the Sidis. The Sidis were eliminated as a political power by the Marathas and the English at the end of the 18th century. So their activities do not occupy a very large space in the records.

British offensive in Kokan :

After the disaster of Panipat, the way in which Peshwa Madhavrao-I consolidated his power created a fear in the minds of the English. In case the Marathas joined Haider Ali and the Nizam against their protege, the Nawab of Karanatak, their own position on the coromandal coast was likely to be exposed to serious danger.[50] In order not to allow such an alliance to take shape, Mostyn was sent to Poona in 1769 as an envoy by the Bombay Government for fomenting the domestic desperation in the Maratha state.[51] That would keep the Marathas entangled among themeselves and this would give an opportunity to the English to achieve their objective of acquiring Salsette and other place on the Bombay coast. Soon Raghunathrao gave this opportunity by seeking the English help. After Raghunathrao was proclaimed Peshwa, he issued instructions to the officers to carry out his orders.[52] The officers in the Peshwa administration adjusted accordingly and started obeying instructions of the new Peshwa Raghunathrao. But some of the officers commanding various forts in the Konkan had misgiving. They did not return to Poona when Raghunathrao issued orders to them to turn to the city promptly. The suggestion that some of those incharge of the forts in Konkan were not well disposed towards Raghunathraoo is noted in Mostyn's diary. On 17th September 1773 he has observed as follows :

" A Thousand horse are ordered into the Konkan to keep a watch on the officers commanding in different forts of whose faith Ragobah is doubtful."[54] But for the despatch of troops in Konkan the Maratha contemporary sources give an entirely different reason. Shivaji, Balaji, Karbhari of Raghunathrao, wrote to Wamanrao Patwardhan on 25 th September 1773, that " Malba Panse was being sent down the Ghats towards Bassein and environs at the head of some troops and Gardis and with adequate equipment because the English appear to have decided to creat trouble in the area as advised by Mostyn.[55] Raghunathrao also convyed his desire to Mostyn through Ramji Chitnis on 10th September 1773 that he should withdraw from Poona.[56] In the meantime, Raghunathrao went away from Poona on Karnatak expedition. In his absence, Gangabai, wife of the assassinated Narayanrao, gave birth to a son. A coup d' etat was formed against Raghunathrao and the ministerial party formed a government at Poona in the name of the newly born child on 40th day of his birth. He was named as Sawai Madhavrao Peshwa and a Council of Ministers was appointed to look after Maratha administration. In the first week of February 1774, Trimbakrao Pethe was asked to march on Raghunathrao at Sangola. The two forces met at Kasegaon on 27th March 1774.In the battle that ensued, Raghunathrao defeated Trimbakrao Pethe. Trimbakrao was severally wounded in the battle and was taken prisoner. He soon succumbed to the injuries.[57] Raghunathrao, however, was unable to capitalize on this success. Due to the extreme scarcity of money, he could not pursue the war vigorously.[58] Therefore, he turned to the English at Bombay for monetary help through Mostyn. The English resident at Poona. Mostyn conveyed Raghunathrao's Proposal to the President of the English council at Bombay on April 10, 1774. Raghunathrao demanded men and money from the English and in return Promised to cede the lands along the sea coast and the islands near Bombay.[59] The Bombay Council turned down the Proposal and advised Mostyn accordingly. In December 1774. Raghunathrao was at Kasarbari in Gujarat. He was pursued by the Ministerial force. He, therefore, came near Surat in January 1775 and dispatched his agent Navaratan to the chief of Surat establishment of the English, with the proposal. Gambier, the English chief at Surat forwarded the proposal to Bombay on 6th September 1774.[60] In the proposal, Raghunathrao mentioned that the English should take him to Poona with sufficient assistance of the force and in return he would make very favourable grants to the Company and enter into any terms of friendship and alliance they

could choose. After deliberating on it, the English president and the Council at Bombay resolved to assist Raghunathrao with men and money provided that Raghunathrao (a) made over to the English the Maratha revenues from the town of Surat and the paraganas of Broach. (b) ceded to the company the Island of Salsette and Bassein along with small Islands adjecent to it and fulfilled two other conditions.[61] These conditions were carried by Navaratan to Raghunathrao who was camping at Burhanpur. Raghunathrao agreed to accept the terms of the English except " to give up Salsette and Bassein, alleging that he considered and valued those places more than any other. As the Islands near Bombay, not knowing their names, he say he cannot return any answer."[62] On 17th November 1774, Gambier informed Raghunathrao that the English at Bombay were ready to give him assistance, but insisted on having Salsette and Bassein as its price and that the English forces would join him within a fortnight of the settlement of the terms. Gambier warned Raghunathrao that the English would not agree to assist him unless he agreed to give them Salsette and Bassein and to settle on them appropriate revenues for the fort of Surat.[63] Raghunathrao informed Gambier that he was unwilling to part with Salsette, and Bassein, though anxious to conclude a treaty.[64]

Attack on Salsette - December 1774 :

While the negotiations were going on with Raghunathrao, the English planned to attack on Salsette. Therefore, Mostyn was recalled to Bombay and the English decided on 6th December 1774 to attack Salsette which was a part of the Maratha territory. Gordon was given the command of the attacking force. On 13th December, the English force reached the neighbourhood of the Salsette by land. The remainder of the Military force was dispatched by sea.[65] The Marathas had a suspicion of these evil designs of the English. Therefore, they had kept their navy in a state of preparedness.[66] They had asked for more provision from Bassein in July 1774.[67] They speeded up their preparations against the English in November.[68] The Marathas cam to know Bombay's decision to invade Salsette immediately.[69] They also suspected the support of the Sidi to the English in this endeavour.[70] The Marathas were short of provisions at Salsette. Therefore, the only way to distract the English was an attack on their fleet.[71] But the Marathas were facing difficulties from all sides. Their fleet was long way off and even land re-inforcements were too slow in arriving. The English had, in the meantime, received reinforcements from Surat.[72] They thought that to wait for the arrival of reinforcements

was likely to be ruinous.[73] The English were furious. The fire from the English batteries demolished a part of the walls and silenced the Maratha guns.[74] Several breaches were effected in the fort walls by the enemy's guns by 25th December 1774.[75] Financial difficulties further complicated the problem of defence.[76] The Marathas were helpless. On the 28th the fort was made to capitulate.[77] On the 30th December the fort of Karanja was also captured by the English.[78]

Thus, the Council at Bombay took possession of the island by force and occupied it on 28th December 1774, on the pretext that a large Portuguese force was coming over from Europe to recover the lost the Portuguese possession in India.[79] This forcible occupation of islands on the Bombay coast was a surprise to Raghunathrao as well as his opponents, the Ministerialists. The Poona Ministers sought the help of the French to expel the English from Salsette. At the beginning of 1775 they deputed an emissary to meet the French Counsel at Surat, M. Anquetol de Briancourt, with an offer to cede one post on the Maratha coast that the French may themselves select in return for supply of 200 soldiers to check the ambitious designs of the English. They also sent envoys to the chief of the French settlement at Mahe with letters to the King of France and his ministers. The Poona administration offered to the French all the English establishment on the Maratha coast in return for assistance in war with the English as also a payment for thirty to forty lakhs of rupees as expenses of the French troops fighting on their side against the English. The proposal was treated with the greatest secrecy and forwarded to France with an officer. It did not materialise as it was not accepted by the Poona Ministers.[80] In the meantime, Raghunathrao sought English assistance without preconditions. He gave up his unwillingness to cede Salsette and Bassein and other territories desired by the English and agreed to all other English conditions, virtually signing on the dotted line as he thought that the English would be the only source of assistance available to him. He reached Surat on 3rd March 1775, and met Keating the same day.[81] Four days later, he appended his signature to the treaty drafted by the English [82]

Under this treaty of Surat, Raghunathrao ceded to the English from the date of his signature the following territory in Konkan : Bassein and its forts, the island of Salsette, Karnaja, Kanheri, Elephanta and Hog. The treaty also provided that Raghunathrao would protect the interest of the English while reaching the settlement with the Poona Ministers.[83] Due to intervention of the supreme authority at London, the cease-fire was ordered. Thereupon,

Raghunathrao's claim to Peshwaship remained to be accepted by the English. Raghunathrao again contacted the English and proposed a new treaty with them. He explained his proposal to Keating on 23rd January 1776 and this was conveyed to the Bombay Government the next day. In addition to all that was made over under the Treaty of Surat, Raghunathrao offered to the English all the Peshwa territory in Konkan, except the fort of Gherrah, known as Vijaydurga; all the passes from Konkan to the Maratha dominions on the Deccan plateau; in addition to other conditions which were not applicable to the Konkan. Raghunathrao promised to make available free of charge 6000 horse and all the Maratha fleet at Gheria in the event of the English being attacked by any power.[84] Bombay Government was almost overwhelmed by the offer, but the offer of the territory in Konkan was not found acceptable to the Supreme government because they mentioned that " it would extend over possessions to a distance not warranted by the spirit of the Company's order."[85] However, the Governor - General agreed to give assistance of their arms to reinstate him in the seat of his Government at Poona. In the meanwhile, col. Upton, on behalf of the East India Company had signed at Purandar a peace treaty on March, 1776 with the Poona Ministers. All the territories ceded by Raghunathrao to the English Company were restored to the Marathas except Salsette and the small islands around it. The Governor General and Council had decided not to relinquish the islands of Salsette, Karanja, Elephanta and Hog. This was recorded on May 22, 1776, as an additional clause of the treaty.[86] The treaty of Purandar accomplished by upto under the direction of Governor General at Calcutta was not liked by the Governor of Bombay. He appealed to the Supreme Government to cancel the treaty of Purandar and allow Bombay to give asylum to Raghunathrao in the English territory.[87] Upton pointed out to the Bombay Government that the English were obliged under the treaty to cease all aid and assistance to Raghunathrao, if he did not go to reside at Kopergaon.[88] About this time Raghunathrao received intelligence from his Vakeel at Calcutta that the king of England had upheld his cause and written to the Governor General of India to support it. But seeing that the English at Bombay did not make any move according to his wish to support him, he sought the help of the Portuguese at Daman.[89] In March 1776, Jose Sanches de Brito, the Chief of the Portuguese navy, had sailed into Surat and Raghunathrao approached him; with a request to take him to Goa, the Portuguese Capital in India. The admiral declined to oblige Raghunathrao.[90] Raghunathrao's men met the Portuguese

Governor of Daman and informed him of Raghunathrao's desire to come to Daman for men and ammunition from the Portuguese to help him to march to Poona and put down the ministerial party and in return Raghunathrao promised to cede to the Portuguese Bassien and other territories which the Portuguese formerly owned and also the territories on the Northern coast that the Marathas had taken away from the Portuguese. The Portuguese however, were in no mood to go beyond granting him permission to stay with his troops in the vicinity of their fort at Daman.[91] The news of Raghunathrao's movement towards Daman reached Poona very quickly. Nana Phadnis asked the Portuguese Vakil in Poona, Narayanrao Shenavi Dhume, to write to Governor of Daman that he should not entertain Raghunathrao. So Dhume on 26th August 1776 wrote to the Daman Governor requesting him not to extend any help to Raghunathrao in view of the friendship between the Portuguese and the Poona Government. He added that the Poona Government was prepared to pay Rs. 66,454.00 to the tune of damages of the "Santan", an armed vessel towards of vessel captured by Dhulap, Maratha Naval Commander and give timber worth three thousand rupees,[92] besides territory yeilding a revenue of twelve thousand rupees.[93]

While Raghunathrao was in vicinity of Daman, the ministerial army under the command of Ganesh Vishwanath and Bhivrao Panse approached Raghunathrao. Rahunathrao, therefore moved from Daman to Tarapur and then field to Bombay by the end of October 1776.[94] He reached Bombay on November 1, 1776and the Government settled on him an allowance of ten thousand rupees a month.[95]

A treaty between Raghunathrao and the English was signed on 24th November 1778. This treaty enabled Raghunathrao to carry on the Peshwa administration as a Regent and confirmed the treaty of Surat signed on March 6, 1775 ceding to the English, the town, fort and district of Bassien, the island of Salsette, Karanja, Kaneri, Elephanta and Hog in the Konkan region. It also provided for the assignment of paraganas of Varsual and Ankaleshwar "the revenues of which are to be paid to the Hon. Company till the amount due for the expenses of the army are fully discharged."[96]

An advance party of the English troops started from Bombay on 22nd November 1778 led by Captain James Stewart. It took possession of the Bor Ghat on 3rd December 1778, and then marched towards Khandala.[97] Raghunathrao was with the main force which ascended the Bor Ghat on 23rd December 1778 and then marched towards Khandala.[98] This force was accompanied with John Carnac,

Colonel Charles Egerton and Thoma Mostyn. Begerton became the commander of the army as he was president of the committee.

But this campaign met with mishaps. Mostyn shortly took ill and returned to Bombay where he died on 1st Januaary1779.[99] Captain Stewart of the advance party was killed by a cannon shot on January 4, 1779 near Karla.[100] Two days later Colonel Egerton was obliged to resign command due to ill health and Lt. Col. Cookburn succeeded him.[101] The Maratha forces under Mahadaji Shinde, Tukoji Holkar, Bhimrao Panse marched from Poona and halted at Talegaon in December 1778 to await the English forces.[102] Balajipant Phatak marched to Kalyan at the head of four thousand horse. He devastated the area in the vicinity and stationed himself at Khopoli to intercept the supplies of the English army coming from Bombay.[103]

At the approach of the English forces, Talegaon was burnt under order from Nana Phadnis.[104] When the English army reached Wadgaon, it was surrounded by the Ministerial forces, and was roundly defeated.[105] Four to five hundred English troops were killed and the Marathas captured two thousand rifles, two big guns and five small guns.[106] Thus temporarily ended the battle with the English on the Konkan ground which was to resume soon. At the end of the year 1780, the English were striking hard to get a footing in the Konkan. In 1774 Karanja Island was taken by the English.[107] In 1779 the British occupied the island of Salsette, as also Thana, Belapur and Kalwa and all places adjacent to Kalyan.[108] In April 1780 the Bombay army launched a campaign for capturing Kalyan. During the month of April, the British captured Parsik and Belapur, the strategic places near Kalyan. On th 11th May, the town of Kalyan was taken by the English in their possession practically without any loss.[109] The Marathas tried to recapture the town but without success. Acquisition of Kalyan by the British had a strategic significance. It secured for them one of the most favourable opening into the Konkan, as Kalyan is situated at easy and nearly equal distance from the principal passes leading to and from the Deccan.[110] The most coveted place in the Konkan was Bassein. The capture of Bassein was expected to complete their scheme of territorial acquisition on the west coast of India and make them masters of that part of country. Bassein had a greater strategic importance. It commanded the Ghats and passes in its neighbourhood leading into the Deccan. Goddard proposed to commence the military operations in the next season by taking Bassein and capturing the neightbouring passes that led to the Deccan and thus bring the war to an immediate conclusion.[111]

In Konkan, Goddard resumed warfare. On the 13th November 1780, he arrived at Bassein and laid a siege to the fort a fortnight later.[112] The Marathas surrendered the fort to him on the 11th December 1780.[113] After this, Godard captured the fort of Arnala.[114] He then sent to the Governor General's peace terms to Nana Phadnis directly. Nana turned down this offer.

With the failure of these efforts, the English decided to march to Poona . Goddard reached Kahandala on 9th February 1781. The Maratha forces advanced from Poona to appose the English army. They devastated the territory between Poona and Panvel to prevent any supplies from Bombay, reaching Goddard's forces. Goddard was unable to reach Khandala. The English forces were continuously harassed by the Marathas. Gaddard found himself isolated and unable to move towards Poona and so returned to Bombay with many losses.[115] Thereafter, the English sought a settlement with the Marathas. After protracted negotiations, two concluded a treaty and signed it at Salbye on 17th May 1782. By this treaty, the Marathas accepted the retention by the English of the islands of Salsette, Elephanta, Karanja and Hog and of the city of Baroch ceded by the Purandar treaty. The Salbye treaty provided for reciprocal protection, access to ports and assurance of freedom from molestation and disturbance for the vessels. Freedom of trade which was not mentioned in the Purandar treaty was specifically assured at Salbye.

During the progress of these events the English appointed Residents at Belapur, Kalyan and Karanja and from their reports some idea of the state of the country could be gained. These reports are found in the manuscript in Residency Diaries of the places preserved in the Bombay Archives.

Portuguese - Marathas :

The Portuguese power was definitely on the decline after their defeat by the Marathas in the battle of Bassein in 1739. Yet, on suitable occasions, throughout the 18th century, they did not fail to help the Peshwa's enemies whenever occasion arose. In 1757 the Portuguese gave help to the Sawants against the Peshwas' admiral Naro Trimbak. This admiral of the Peshwas, was instigated by the Queen of Kolhapur to attack the key forts belonging to Sawants, adjacent to the Malwan coast. Naro Pant came with his fleet in the port of Malwan and attacked fort Bharatgad, Masura and Karli. The first two places are situated to the north-east of Malwan, and Karli to the south of Malwan along the coast.[116] The Sawants sought the help of the Portuguese who supplied ammunition, cannon balls and battalion to the Sawants. With

this help Sawant repulsed Naro Trimbak's attack. However, Karli and Nivati fell into the hands of Naro Trimbak but were wrested from him when the Portuguese helped the Sawants. Repelled from Nivtyand Karli, Naro Trimbak attacked Vengurla by land and sea. The port Vengurla was a naval station of the Sawants, guarded by a fort. The fight lasted for three days. After a loss of two hundred soldiers Naro Trimbak had a retreat. Though dogged by defeat, Naro Trimbak launched a vigorous attack on the fort of Sindhagad and captured it. This fort remained with the Peshwas till 1795.[117] In January 1771 the Peshwa concentrated his forces numbering 2000 under the command of Visajipant Lele a Naval Squadron consisting of 17 pale and 85 Gallants lay anchored in the Karli creek. The Peshwa had asked the Portuguese to give passage to this army through the Fonda region for proceeding against Hyder Ali. The Portuguese evaded the permission by giving lame excuses.[118]

Tulaji Episode :

Tulaji Pawar, one of the culprits responsible for the murder of Peshwa Narayanrao on the 30th August 1773, was in the service of Hyder Ali of Mysore. On completion of peace treaty with the Marathas, Hyder Ali dismissed Tulaji Pawar from his service as suggested by Nana Phadnis. Tulaji was then given shelter by Khem Sawant. Soon Khem Sawant handed over Tulaji to the Portuguese of Goa with a request that Tulaji be sent to Surat to join his master Raghunathrao. The Portuguese, without paying any need to the request of Khem Sawant, handed over Tulaji to the Poona Darbar.[119]

An event creditable to the Maratha armada took place in March 1772. On the 19th March 1772 Dhulap, Naval Commandant of the Peshwa stationed at Vijaydurg (Gheria), arrested a Portuguese frigate called 'Santana'. In the Naval war 'Santana' fought well and caused death of two sarangs of the Marathas. Lastly it surrendered to the Maratha fleet and was taken to Vijaydurg with its crew as captive.[120] The Government of Goa lodged a complaint to the Peshwa about the capture of "Santana". The Poona governmet in reply wrote to Goa on 4th May 1772:" you sent friendly despatches which were reciprocated in the same spirit. While our relations were friendly, you behaved strange in respect of Maydangad. Last year you did not allow passage to our army while it was marching on Hyder Ali. Who broke the trust is well known to you. We pay in the same coin. We esteem friendship but tit for tat is our policy". Thereafter in 1774 Peshwa Raghunathrao, murderer of Narayanrao was dislodged from the Peshwaship by the Regency Council at Poona. He fled to Surat and

thereafter reached Baroch. From Baroch he sent his envoy to the Portuguese at Daman to win their support in his cause of getting Peshwaship. To prevent the Portuguese from giving help to Raghunathrao the regency Council at Poona decided to re-establish friendly relations with the Portuguese. In November 1775, the Portuguese ship " Santana" was handed over to the Portuguese under the orders of the Peshwa. The masts, guns and other material had been removed by Dhulap and only its hull remained. The court of Poona assured the Portuguese of compensation for the same.[121] This was done in recognition of the Portuguese friendship with Poona court. To negotiate for the compensation, the Portuguese deputed their envoy Narayan Vithal Dhume to Poona court in 1774. The envoy also offered on behalf of the Portuguese to abandon the cause of the dissident Maratha Chief Raghunatharao in favour of the rightful Maratha Ruler, Peshwa Savai Madhavrao in consideration of monetary compensation of Rs. 12,000 per annum confirmed by the treaty of 1779. Various drafts and Memoranda were followed by the Portuguese treaty executed by the Portuguese Governor Camara at Goa on 4th May 1779. It was ratified by the Marathas on the 17th December 1779.[122]

According to this treaty nine villages adjoining Daman worth twelve thousand rupees were assigned to the Portuguese by issuing a Sanad dated 11th February 1780 to Visaji Keshav, Subedar of Bassein.[123] A scrutiny of this treaty will show how the Marathas attached importance to the friendship of the Portuguese at that time. Articles 1,2,3,8 and 9 established the principle of friendly relations between the Marathas and the Portuguese fleets, when they met at the Sea. Article 16 provided for the return of ships wrecked on the coast of the other. Under articles 11, 12 and 13 the parties undertook neither to grant asylum to traitors, nor to aid the enemies of the other and not to take advantage of the military weakness of the other. Articles 4 and 14 dealt with the return of slaves and deserters. Article 5 dealt with the non-renewal of past disputes and Article 6 provided settlement of future differences by negotiations, through the Portuguese envoy at the Poona Court. Article 15 prohibited the Portuguese from building fortifications in the territory of the Marathas. Article 17 dealt with the assignment by the Marathas of an annual grant of Rs. 12,000.00 in consideration of Portuguese friendship with the Poona Court.[124] The village yielding the revenue of Rs. 12,000.00 of Nagar Haveli Paragana were assigned to the Portuguese.[125] Paragana Nagar Haveli originally formed part of the territory of the

Raja of Ramnagar, later known as Dharampur. It may be remembered that in 1759, the Marathas acquired the ParaganaNagar Haveli from the Raja of Ramnagar and established Zakat ports and Dadra and Naroli.[126]

Imposter of Sadoba in Konkan :

Sadashivrao Bhau died in the battle of Panipat in 1761. During Peshwa Madhavrao's regime a person assumed the name of Sadashivrao Bhau and started creating disturbances for assuming Peshwaship. He was captured and lodged in the fort of Ahmadnagar, as a prisoner. He was transferred from place to place to avoid complicity with the sentries of the fort. While he was at Ratnagiri fort as a prisoner he convinced Subha Ramchandra Naik Paranjpe, in charge of fort Ratnagiri, that he was the real Sadashivrao Bhau. Naik Paranjpe believed in the imposter and released him in March 1776. After release he pretended to be the great Sadashivrao Bhau. He was also mis-identified as proper Sadashivrao Bhau by thousands of people who joined him, in his mission of capturing Poona.[127] Soon the pretender raised an army of 18,000 men consisting largely of Raghunathrao's adherents and succeeded in capturing the forts of Suvarnadurga and Deogad.[128] Maratha Naval Commandant Dhulup gave him the charge of Maratha Navy. The pretender also took possession of the forts of Anjanvel and Govalkot. The force which was sent against him by Poona Government was defeated and joined him. He established his sway over the whole of North-Konkan.[129] Many of the Poona officials of North-Konkan and Maratha Sardars - Hari Pant Bhaskar Patwardhan- Ichalkaranjikar, Venkatrao Ghorpade and others were in conclusion with him.[130] Day by day his military force was increasing. He also asked the help of the English of Bombay.[131] And deputed his emissary to Raghunathrao.[132] Thus he had established himself in Konkan. The Poona Government despatched a strong army. Under Mahadji Shinde and Bhivrao Panse and ordered them to bring him captive to Poona.[133] The Maratha army defeated him in the battle fought on the 27th October 1777 at Belapur. He was seized by Raghuji Angre while he was on his way to Bombay[134] and was despatched to Poona where he was executed on the 18th December 1777. Thus ended the depredations of the pretender in Konkan.

Piracy harassed the British trade on Western Coast. The British thought that the fall of Angre in 1756, was a death-blow to piracy. But soon they found that the Chief of Kolhapur and Sawantwadi were as troublesome as the Angres of Kolaba. Most of the

depredations were carried out by the Kolhapur people for their headquarters at Malwan fort (Sindhudurg) and by Wadi people from fort Redi, Vengurla and Nivati.

By 1764, the English had firmly laid the foundation of their domination in India by their success in the battle of Buxer. They had thrown off their garb as traders and had been actively interfering in the internal affairs of the Indian states for political power. Their expansionist design was very clear and they scarcely allowed any opportunity to slip out of their hands for its fulfillment. The imperial Mughals were a spent force, and the real contest for the hegemony of India was now between the Marathas and the East India Company. The Marathas had considerably restored their power and position in the North under Peshwa Madhavrao-I. But when he was engaged in a war with Hyder Ali of Mysore, the English found an opportunity to expand their power further on the West Coast, South of Bombay.

Amongst the strategically situated places on the Western Coast, Fort Sindhudurg, Rajokt and Padmagad were in th possession of Chhatrapati of Kolhapur. Fort Redi and Vengurla with their adjoining villages were in the possession of the Chief of Sawantwadi. From fort Sindhudurg and Redi, the piratical activities of the natives increased to such an extent that from the year 1762 to 1764 that British trading vessels got molested by them. Due to these depredations, the British trading vessels suffered a loss. The British East India Company got many complaints from the traders of molestation of their ships by the pirates. The British had written many letters asking the Chiefs of Kolhapur and Sawantwadi to stop piratical activities on the sea. But both the Chiefs could not do anything and the nuisance of pirates continued to trouble the sea-going British vessels. To put a stop to the piratical activities, in the month of January 1765, an expedition was launched against Malwan. One time the British Company had thought of taking help of the Portuguese for attacking the fort. But fearing that they might hoist their colours as auxiliaries to the British, the idea was given up.

The officers commanding expedition to Malwan were asked to demand from the Kolhapur Raja, security either by depositing a sum of money or sending hostages to Bombay[135] for not molesting in future, the British trading ships. The object of the expedition was to destroy and if possible to utterly root out a nest of pirates situated on Malwan Coast who for a long time in the past had repeated depredations on the British trade and on the subjects of the island.[136]

The British Navy blockaded Sidhudurg and captured it on the 26th January 1765 about 400 prisoners.[137] The Bhosale's officers waited on the British officer desiring the friendship of the English. But they were asked to explain how the Malwan Gallivant had taken shelter in their river. They differed giving an answer. Thereafter, the British force proceeded to the Karli river under, Bhosale's jurisdiction and with their armed Boats went up 15 miles. The Bhosale's men pleaded for the return of the British force as the inhabitants were deserting the villages on their approach. They also agreed to deliver the gallivants with the people. When this was done, the British force under Captain White went to reduce a small fort about 5 miles to the northward which was abandoned on his approach.[138] The fort Sindhudurg was occupied by the British garrison and Captain Thomas Mostyn was appointed as Resident of the fort which was named as Fort Augustus. Thereafter, the British thought of demolishing the principal fort. They also got estimate of expenditure for this purpose amounting to Rs. 1,30,000 (One Hundred and Thirty Thousand Rupees). They were given to understand that for demolishing the fort twelve months period would be required during which time they would require to keep a garrison. So the British gave up the idea of demolishing the fort and decided to keep possession of Malwan and the fort till the court's decision could be known.[139]

In the meantime, the British adopted the necessary measures for putting affairs at Malvan on proper footing. To establish boundaries of he occupied territories and to collect the revenues which might be annexed to them, the British appointed Samuel Court and ordered him to proceed to act in consultation with Gowin and Watson in carrying these points into execution. The British had occupied the territory between the two rivers, the Karli and Salsee, which belonged to the Bhosale. The civil Government of this land was left in charge of Samuel Court. It was also decided that for handing over this territory to Bhosale, a deposit of more than two lakhs of rupees should be asked from the Bhosale.[140] In the terms proposed for negotiations with Bhosale, two important articles were inserted; one in respect of protecting the deserters and the other regarding ship wrecks. The British declared Malwan as a free port and the inhabitants were encouraged to give protection to the British flag. They were given liberty of exercising their religion. But neither Kolhapur nor Sawantwadi were prepared to accept the terms dictated by the British. They evaded, the settlement with the British.[141]

Thereafter the British fleet headed by Major Gordon and Captain Watson was deputed to capture Fort Raree (*Redi*). The Fleets laid seige to the Fort Redi on 6th March 1765. Without much resistance the British captured the Fort on Saturday, the 9th March 1765.[142] This news was received as a shock by the Raja of Kolhapur, who lamented over the incident in a letter to Jivaji Vishram, Diwan of Sawantwadi. The British garrisoned this Fort Yashwantgad and named it as Fort Raree (*Redi*).

The honourable Company entered into a treaty with the Bhosale on 7th April 1765. The treaty was concluded at Fort Redi. For the stricter observance of the treaty of peace, the Bhosale agreed to send two hostages of note, with their families, to reside at Bombay, and to be maintained at his cost. It was agreed that he should cede the lands and tenaments situated between the rivers of Karli and Salsi from the sea-shore to the foot at the Ghat to the Honourable Company. It was stipulated in the treaty that Bhosale should pay to the Honourable Company one Lakh of Rupees as the restitution for the expenses. Half to be paid in eight days from the date of conclusion of this treaty; Rs. 25,000 within 12 months of this date and the remainder Rs. 25,000 within three years from the date thereof. And according to article 13, the Fort of Masura with all the guns, shot, carriages and the stores therein should be delivered to the Honourable Company within eight days from the date of conclusion of the treaty in lieu thereof the Honourable Company would deliver up to the Bhosale the Fort of Raree (*Redi*) with all guns and carriages. The Bhosale should permit the Honourble Company to build a factory on any part of his territories adjacent to the sea-shore. The Bhosale agreed to allow all merchants and Wanjaras free liberty to pass and repass his territories to and fro from fort Augustus. Article 19 of the treaty states that the Bhosale has agreed to fulfil the abovementioned first, second, third and thirteenth Articles within eight days after the treaty was signed, in default of which he agreed to pay all the charges of maintaining garrison of the Fort Redi till the delivery of the Fort to the Bhosale.[143]

By this treaty the Bhosale felt that the Company acquired large territory and was asked to pay ransom for Redi. The Bhosale fo Wadi repented for this engagement and instead of adhering and honouring the treaty, he joined the Chief of Kolhapur against the English. Both of them made attempts to recover the Forts of Sarjekot and Rajkot, but the attack was repulsed[144] by the English. But the treaty was

concluded for surrendering them to the Company in the beginning of 1766.[145] Various difficulties appear, however, to have intervened in respect of both of the abovementioned treaties.[146] Which are explained indetailed in Warden's Volumes No. 1 and 4.

It was found by the East India Company that the Bhosale hesitated to comply with the articles of treaty in regard to fort Raree (*Redi*). The garrison was reinforced in April 1766and Mr. Brome was posted there as a resident. He was asked to work in subordination to Thoms Mostyn, the Resident at Fort Augustus. Charles Brome was in charge of the Fort Raree (*Redi*) from April 1766 to October 1766. In October 1766 another peace treaty was concluded by the Chief of Wadi with the Company and the Raree was delivered back to the Bhosale.[147]

Brome as a Resident at Fort Raree discharged his duties and wrote the transactions he had done with the natives and the native Chiefs, so also the business concluded by him with them. All his dealings are entered by him in his Diary, known as Raree - Residency Diary No. 213 of 1766 preserved in the Bombay Archives.

Thoms Mostyn, Resident of Fort Augustus, in his letter dated 29 April 1766, instructed Charles Brome to proceed to Redi to take charge of Hon. Company's affairs there with the garrison and two ships loaded with seven months' provision for his garrison and cash of Rs. 3000 with Military and artillery stores. Charles Brome accordingly proceeded to fort Redi and reached there on 1st May 1766.[148] On his arrival Brome came to know that the Portuguese had established a Chawkey so close due to which European soldiers often deserted him and went to take selter with them.

On 2nd May one officer of Bhosale of Sawantwadi met Charles Brome and in the conversation hinted to him Bhosale's desire to purchase the fort from the English. Thereupon, Brome expressed the Company's wish to sell the fort to the Bhosale for Rs. 1 1/4 lakhs. The Bhosales representative went back to Sawantwadi to inform the king accordingly.[149]

Brome also informed Thomas Mostyn about Bhosale's desire to continue friendship with the English. He also explained in the same letter dated 10.5.1766 how Bhosale's sepoys who trespassed in the districts belonging to the Hon. Company were captured by him.[150] Thomas Mostyn in reply cautioned Charles Brome about Bhosale's double dealings with the British. Soon, Charles Brome experienced Bhosale's tricky behaviour. Bhosale, who assured the Hon. Company of observing a strict amity, deputed his sepoys to collect revenue of

the villages of Turf Ajagaon[151] which was under the Company. Thereupon Charles Brome warned the Bhosale to stop depredations by his sepoys in the British territory (*which was recently captured alongwith the fort Redi*) otherwise he would be answerable for the consequences.[152] By this Jiwaji Vishram was removed from the Diwanship by the Raja of Sawantwadi. So Jiwaji Vishram revolted against the Raja and pledged his support to the English against Sawantwadi.[153] In the meantime, Bhosale's men who trespassed into the British territory were captured and taken as prisoners by Charles Brome. When Bhosale came to know this, he protested to the English saying that in the agreement between Sawantwadi and the English there was a provision to give free access to their inhabitants of both the territories without molesting them and demanded release of the captured men.[154]

On the capture of fort Sindhudurg in April 1765, the Hon. Company made a treaty with the Rani of Kolhapur for relinquishing the forts by the company in the begining of 1766 by one of the articles to which Rani of Kolhapur was bound to pay the sum of seven and half lakhs Rupees to the Hon. Company. Out of this sum, it was also agreed upon that one lakh was to be given to the captors and the remainder to be appropriated to afford restitution to the sufferers of the depredations of Malwan and to reimburse the Hon. Company for the expenses of the expedition. The Kolhapur Rani also laid claims to the restoration of the vessels and stores that had been captured from her. Mostyn refused to comply with the Rani's claim.[155] As there was no prospect of obtaining all money from the Rani of Kolhapur, the English decided to restore the fort of Malwan to the Rani of Kolhapur on the following condition. She had to give the English a security for her future conduct, indemnify them for losses and expenses amounting to Rs. 38,896.00 and from the agreed amount to pay Rs. 50,000 before the evacuation of Malwan in May 1766.[156] This work of recovering money from the Kolhapur Royal family was entrusted to Charles Brome who was at Redi. But he could not recover the whole money for the first payment from Kolhapur for fort Sindhudurg. Therefore, Mostyn detained two persons, Gangaji Dalvi and Naro Kasi of Kolhapur as security against the payment of Rs. 50978-1-25 due from Kolhapur. The detainees were lodged at fort Redi[157] and Chalrles Brome was asked to recover the amount from Kolhapur and set free the detainees.

Essaji Shinde, commander-in-chief of Kolhapur sent Rs. 30793-2-37 to Charles Brome and asked him to give receipt of the same to

Gangaji Dalvi and promised to pay the balance of Rs. Seventeen thousand nine hundred and forty in due course.[158] The English received the remaining amount on 25th May 1766. Therefore, Charles Brome set free Gangaji Dalvi according to Mostyn's command and informed Charles Crommelin, President and Governor in Council at Bombay by his letter dated 27.5.1766.[159]

Charles Brome, Resident at Redi came to know that Sadashiv Pant, Officer in British service, while he was on his way to Redi from Malwan with his men was stopped near Niwati by the officer of Sawantwadi, Shri Devaji warrang and despatched them to Sawantwadi. Sadashiv Pant was assured his release by the Bhosale provided he used his good offices with the British for the purchase of fort Redi[160] by them. The Resident showed his willingness and asked Sadashiv Pant to come with Bhosale's officer to negotiate purchase of fort Redi.[161] Bhosale also promised the Resident to depute his man for that purpose.[162] In the meantime, the Resident understood that the Bhosale established a chawky in the vicinity of Redi fort to house his detachment. The Bhosale's sepoys also got possession of the hills round the English chowky. So the Resident took suitable measures for the protection of the inhabitants[163] under the English rule. The Resident received timely assistance from Malwan of a detachment of 30 Europeans, 50sepoys and 30 lascars and ammunition.[164] The force fired on the Sawant's chawky. The Bhosale's men returned the attack. They took advantage of the English party hastening through a narrow road and attacked them on all sides in which two Europeans, two Bombay sepoys and one Kasim Naik were killed and nine Europeans, five Bombay Sepoys and one hawaldar got wounded.[165] To prevent this sad the Residence the Resident established two Chawkis and sent a report to Bombay saying that it was not in his power to prevent the country from being plundered by the enemy, who in small parties in the night entered the villages and whatever they could get hold of from the inhabitants who, if then resisted was carried away to Sawantwadi. The Resident also saw little prospect of the farmers being able to perform their contract with the company, since the Bhosale having carried away last years' revenues and threatened the Patils that if they paid any of this years revenue to the English they would be punished.[166] So in August 1766 the English came to the conclusion that it was in thier interest to get rid of the fort of Redi as soon as possible as the revenue accrued from the fort Redi and the villages attached to it, was not sufficient to defray the expenses of keeping it.[167] So Mostyn was asked to go to Redi to

conclude the best terms he might be able to negotiate with Bhosale. Mostyn arrived at Redi on 4th October 1766 and confined with Bhosale's two officers who arrived there for negotiations. After prolonged negotiations, a settlement was effected. Mostyn managed to secure from Bhosale a payment of two lakhs and an assurance that he would not commit any further piracies and that the Redi would he restored to him. This sum could be realised only by mortgaging the district of Vengurla for 13 years. As a security, two hostages from Wadi were secured by Mostyn from the Sawant.[168] One Vithoji Kamat was prevailed upon to advance that amount. Thereupon, Kamati declared that unless the English took possession of Vengurla, hoist the English colours and keep sepoys there, he would not stand security for the implementation of the articles as he could not place any confidence in Bhosale. Sawants agreed to this proposal and also allowed a small factory to be built at Vengurla under an English flag and a few sepoys left in the Vengurla fort.[169] Kamati agreed to advance to the English Rs. 58,000 out of the agreed payment of 120,000 rupees to be paid after the delivery of the fort to the Bhosale. The treaty entered into, with Bhosale was approved and Mostyn proceeded on 5th November 1766 to Vengurla to take possession of the fort. He hoisted the English colour on Vengurla fort and left 25 sepoys there in conformity with the treaty.[170]

But in May 1766, Mostyn received after various negotiations with the Malwan Ranee, Rs. 3,31,917.2.27 leaving the balance of Rs. 50978.1.25 whereof twenty eight thousand were to be in 8 days and the remainder in a month.[171] Thereafter, Mr. Mostyn left fort Augustus and ordered it to be restored to the Rani of Kolhapur. In March 1767, on payment from Bhosale, the fort of Redi was given up to that Prince as in the preceding month of October he had entered into an amended treaty with the company to pay 2 lakhs of rupees on account of the charges of expendition in part of which the aforesaid payment to the amount of Rs. 80,000 was made good before the surrender of the fort. The residue was fixed to be made by two equal installments falling due on 24th October 1767 and on the same day of the year 1768.[172]

At this time Brome was transferred to Vengurla, a port within the Bhosales Dominions, which had been made over to the company as security for the residue of the Ransom for Redi.

But neither the Kolhapur Rani nor the Bhosale of Wadi ahd shown any willingness to make more payments. On the contrary, in May 1769 the Bombay council got the news that hostages she had

given for the undischarged part of the fort Augustus' ransom were put into close confinement. The Rani was threatened by Brome, the Resident at Vengurla, with dire consequences. But there was no effect till at last the President was empowered in 1771 to accept the Rani's offer of two lakhs in lieu of all demands but even this payment she continued to evade.

It was with the greatest difficulty that Brome and Henshow recovered from her, in the year 1772, in part thereof the amount of Rs. 81585. Since then, nothing was paid owing to Rani's demise in the following year. But the demands were continued to be made form time to time to her successor, the Raja of Kolhapur. The Bhosale of Sawantwadi, from 1773 extended his depredations on Company's trade. He made a futile attempt in October 1775 to surprise the fort of Vengurla which was fortified by the English. At last, in the year 1781, the Bhosale did successfully surprise and reduce the fort of Vengurla. The English tried to check those depredations through negotiations by requesting the Puna Government and Mahadji Shinde to prevail on his new relations with the Sawants, to restore their illegal gains, the Raja of Kolhapur to write off balances due to the company and to refrain from future aggression. These negotiations came to naught.[173]

Meanwhile, in 1785 Malwan Raja restored a Guraba taken by his piratical fleet and sent Ten Thousand rupees in further payment of the dues from his predecessor. He wished for continuance of the Hon. Company's friendship. Notwithstanding, his fleet continued their depredations on the English navigation in the same year by capturing four trading Boats called shybars. Although they were furnished with company's permits, he sized them and compelled them to pay for their protection.[174] He also told them in that the English passes were not sufficient without his endorsement. In 1786 the Raja of Kolhapur himself took a large army into the Konkan, stormed Bhratgad, Nivati and Vishalgad which commands the low-level part of the Southern Konkan. On account of Sawant's getting assistance from Goa, he evacuated Nivati and Vengurla but appointed Mamlatdars and other officials to the rest of the newly acquired territory.[175] In 1787 he also expressed his surprise at the demand for residue of the Ransom of fort Augustus continuing to be made on him. He proposed to establish an office of his own at Bombay for the issuing of his passes to all the vessels of the Company.

During the years 1788 and 1789 the Raja continued his piratical activities on the natives' vessels sailing under company's passes to such a degree that finding all peaceable attempts fruitless, the Bombay

cruizers were authorised in May 1789 to destroy such of these Corsairs whenever they might be found. When Raja came to know this, he sent Sultanjirao and Raghunath as his vakeels in October 1789 to negotiate with the English. But it was then deemed derogatory to enter into any discussion till the English merchants had been satisfied and thus the accommodation was suspended and the Raja's plundering went on as usual.[176]

In the year 1790 an attempt was made to settle those points through the mediation of the Pune Govt. At this time the Company made claim on the Raja for Rs. 94,724.1.21. The Raja then agreed to pay the balance of his debts to the Company. But this did not materialise, still the complaints of the traders continued as before. In 1792 while these events were in progress, the Bomaby Government had prepared to march against Kolhapur. Finding that an expedition was organised to punish him, the Raja of Kolhapur entered into a treaty[177] with the English company. The English were allowed to have a factory at Malwan and at Kolhapur and to hoist their flag till all claims were paid.[178] But even this treaty proved abortive, for in 1796 piracies of Redi, Kolhapur and Visjhalgad recommenced.[179]

In 1785 Anandrao Dhulup, the Peshwa's Naval Commander at Gheria captured Candery, a vessel belonging to one of British merchants at Tellicherry; and detained it in his harbour. He also imprisoned and illtreated Captain Straehan, the commander of the "Lord Rodny", a countryship belonging to M/s. Tairlee. This ship which was bound to China with a cargo of cotton took shelter at Geria fort .[180]

The English made repeated requests for the release of the ship. The 'Rodney' was ultimately released. It was not till after she had been in some measure plundered and a Cargo damaged for which no indemnification was given. Its hull and stores stood valued at 30,000 rupees; besides loss of cargo. The whole loss must have amounted to above seventy thousand rupees.[181]

The Angrean family followed the general example and in1788 seized and carried into their horbour of Colaba. The 'Chichester'. After detaining it the ship was released on the ground of Bombay Governments remonstrances, captain Blake, a commander, estimated his loss because of detention at rupees 20,000.[182]

In the same year in 1789 another complaint was made against the Angre, first for plundering a Pattamar Boat from Tellicherry and secondly for detaining a craft of Timber appertaining to captain Moss. When questioned, the Angre, pointed out that it was wholly seized

by the Peshwa's manager at Undheri a place on the limits of his Taluk.[183] However, since the year 1792 all the pirates had particularly distinguished themselves in the most unreserved and audacious attacks. On the British ships and vessels time to time.[184]

In 1792, the Angre's fleet seized a Botella called 'The Rupale' appertaining to Rottanjee Bomanjee, valued at rupees 14,092.2.0 and also a ' Shyber' or boat cargo belonging to Govaljee Treecomjee. The Angre refused to restore the cargo valued by the owners but sent back the vessels to Bombay as a special case.[185]

In the same year (1792) the Gallivats belonging to Kolhapur Raja stood charged with plundering the ship ' Harvith' of captain Stockhouse of goods amounting to 8432 Rs. Besides, the pirates also collected between 20 and 30 thousand more from several other European and native traders.[186]

The Bhosale also joined this successful depredations by the neighbour, the Kolhapur Raja. In the beginning of the year 1793, his fleet carried on to Redy horbour, the ship Myrlle from Bengal. It was detained and the goods to the value of Rs. 19,615 were plundered. In 1764, the Raja of Kolhapur made some more attempts to negotiate with the Bombay Government by deputing his vakeel and principal minister called Nagojirao. They tendered Raja's apology for not fulfilling his former engagement owing to the trouble in his country. These envoys expressed Raja's desire to be under company's protection. The vakeels also spoke Raja's intention to cede to the company newly acquired territory from Patwardhan as security for liquidating company's claims on him. The Raja also desired to have an English gentleman reside at his Darbar. The Bombay Government referred this matter to the Supreme Government for decision with their opinion in the matter saying "that the Raja has in all his negotiations acted with so much perfidy that no faith can be put in his promises."[187]

Again, in April 1795 the Bombay Government received letters from the Raja of Kolhapur expressing his wish to be on the friendly terms with the Bombay Govt. and expressed his regret for not complying with the communications made by him. But soon afterwards viz. in May of the same year reports were received that the Raja's armed vessels were containing the sea robberies.[188] In December 1795 they seized a ship containing Liutt. Moulgomerie's purchases for the Madras Calvary; so the English demanded compensation for the loss, this demand was repeated by the Governor in January 1796.[189] Thereupon the Raja suggested that the English

should send one Cruizer down to bring up his Minister Nagoojee, who should be commissioned to settle everything. Form the past experience and from Raja's correspondence, the company had reason to believe that all the Raja's proposal or rather those of his Minister's had no other object and tendency but to evade and procrastinate the day of account. So when the English did not acceed to the Raja's request, Kolhapur pirates captured another Boat similarly laden with Horses for the Carnatic Cavalry; and seized also the several other ships having the Company's pass. The whole sum of unsatisfied private or personal claims from the Company against the said Raja amounted to rupees 358,068.3.90 whilst the Company's own had accumulated with interest to 91,8614.3.07. Thus the Treaty of November 1792 was violated by the Raja which was considered as no longer in force.[190]

The Bombay Company's claims against the aggressions of Angre during 1793 related to a float of timber belonging to Purushottam, a native of Bombay. His float was consumed by fire in a dispute between late Raghuji Angre and the Peashwa's officers. The Angre pleaded that as the goods on the boat belong to the subject of the Peshwas, they had a right to make reprisals.[191] In 1794 a complaint was made by the two Tandels of having their Boat plundered by Angre's cruizers. In January 1795, the Bombay Government made a claim on the Angrian State and asked them to deliver the articles of the estimated value of Rs. 12,000 saved from a boat belonging to Tulsey Oadajee that had been driven on the Rocks on that part of the coast, by stress of weather. The Angre evaded the payment stating that nothing had been saved.[192] In June of the same year, the Angrian Armed vessels carried into Colaba the English 'Brig. Bassein'. Its Captain belonging to the naval force was for some time detained in confinement. A part of the Cargo of that vessel which suffered due to plunder worth Rs. 12,340. At the request of the Bombay Government, the vessel and people were released with the residue of the Cargo.[193]

The points thus at issue relating to the Botellas and 'Bassein's Cargoes' were referred to the Resident at Poona. Thereupon Nana Phadnis, the then Minister in authority at Poona, proposed that such part of the "Bassein's Cargo" as remained unrestored should be paid for, in time, agreeably to the value and added that a negotiation was not on foot with the owner of the Bottella in Bombay; from whom a satisfactory reply was awaited. But these pleas being deemed evasive, Calcutta Government instructed and authorised the Bombay Government in February 1795 to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity to exact compensation for their loss.[194]

The occasional Excess committed by the Peshwa's own fleet at Gheria up to the end of 1792 have been previously explained. In 1793 it Naval Commander Anandrao Dhulap captured the guraba 'Sadee' under a Bengal Pass. After several months' negotiations it was released but without indemnification for the plundered part of the Cargo.[195]

In December 1795, Anandrao Dhulap captured the vessel belonging to Purushotum Nathoodas on the Plea that her dimensions and descriptions in point of Guns and men, did not correspond with the particulars specified in the English Pass. After several letters between Bombay President and Anandrao, the latter released the vessel in May 1796, but detained the Cargo on Plea of having made a report of the case to Poona.[196]

In February 1796 the same Anandrao made a similar exceptionable capture of a Pattamar Boat belonging to Sheikh Hussayne; but released her in May 1796 on receipt of a letter from the Bombay President.[197]

Meanwhile, in the month of April 1796, he made a still more exceptionable seizure of the guraba Ebram Salee navigating under an English Pass. The new administration at Poona appeared to have promised the release of both the above-mentioned undue seizures. Yet the accomplishment remained unperformed. These complaints were taken up by the English Resident at Poona with the Poona Government to seek redress and to achieve safety of the ships for carrying trade.[198]

In May 1796, on instructions from the Supreme Government the Bombay Government proposed to have discussion on the outstanding objects with the Rani of Angrian State with the motive of bringing peaceful adjustment with that small state. Accordingly, Lieutt. Wilson, the Governor aid de camp and the Persian Translator to Bombay Government paid a visit to the Angrian Rani at her Capital of Colaba and entered into a full discussion of the several claims on their part for the detention and plunder of ships and Boats from the year 1796. In the discussions between Lieutenant Wilson and Basker Pundit (*the Minister of Angre's widow*) the latter stated that whatever articles were cast on the shore of the Angrian Districts during the distresses were considered as belonging to the State. He also expresses his Government's anxiety to Lieutenant Wilson to enter into a direct treaty with the English, which would effectually put a stop to all such maraudings on the part of her fleet in time to come.[199]

But to proceed to the other claims, the Rani acquiesced in paying Rs. 9,000 for the "Ruparel Bottella" and her Cargo but she positively refused making any payment for the 'Shybar' of Trecumjee pointing out that there were no goods in the 'Shybar' when the fleet was recaptured from the Coolies.[200] The Rani next refused to pay for the 300 pieces of Timber of Purushotumjee, which had floated into Angre's Districts, on the Plea that they were partly seized and partly burnt by the people of the Peshwa. She also refused to make any payment on account of the seizure of "Bhagwan Calla" and "Govindjee Boat" as they were not inhabitants of Bombay, but of the Peshwa's Country.[201] She also refused to admit the next claim on behalf of the heirs of Toolsey Woodajee for the articles seized on from his Botella, in January 1795 which was stranded near the Island of Kenery. The Rani declared that nothing was justly due from her, on that account as Premchund, the Gomastta of Toolsey, had come and taken away such of the articles as were saved and as he thought worth transporting.[202]

Lastly Lieut. Wilson lodged a complaint to the Rani in respect of the outrages committed on the Brig. Bassein ; commanded by a Captain Force. The Rani said that on finding that vessel to be really the English property she had released, the "Bassein" and sent it to Bombay. Lt. Wilson agreed to receive Rs. 2,000 against the damages claimed by its captain finding that it was all he could get, Wilson agreed to accept Rupees 2,000 as an indemnification for the said claim.[203]

After termination of the discussion between the Rani and Lieutenant Wilson, the latter told her that he was by no means satisfied with her answers and expressed his resentment. To all this she replied that she had gone every possible length to satisfy him, but that she could not acquiesce any responsibility for claims not fairly made out against her. At the same time, she professed her earnest desire to remain in amity with the Bombay Government declaring that she considered herself and her children as appertaining to the English Government. She also expressed her wish to station a Vakeel on her behalf at Bombay who would, she observed, be answerable for the propriety of her conduct.[204]

When Lt. Wilson demanded payment of the entire sum thus agreed to be paid, amounting altogether to Rupees 17,500, the Rani and her minister expressed their inability to pay the amount as there was no ready money in the treasury. Therefore, the Rani returned a promissory note of that amount to the English. She requested them

not to send a force against either her fleet or capital of Colaba.[205] At this time the general survey and assessment of the Konkan was proposed by Nana Phadnis. But it did not materialise due to the accession of Bajirao-II to the Peshwaship.[206]

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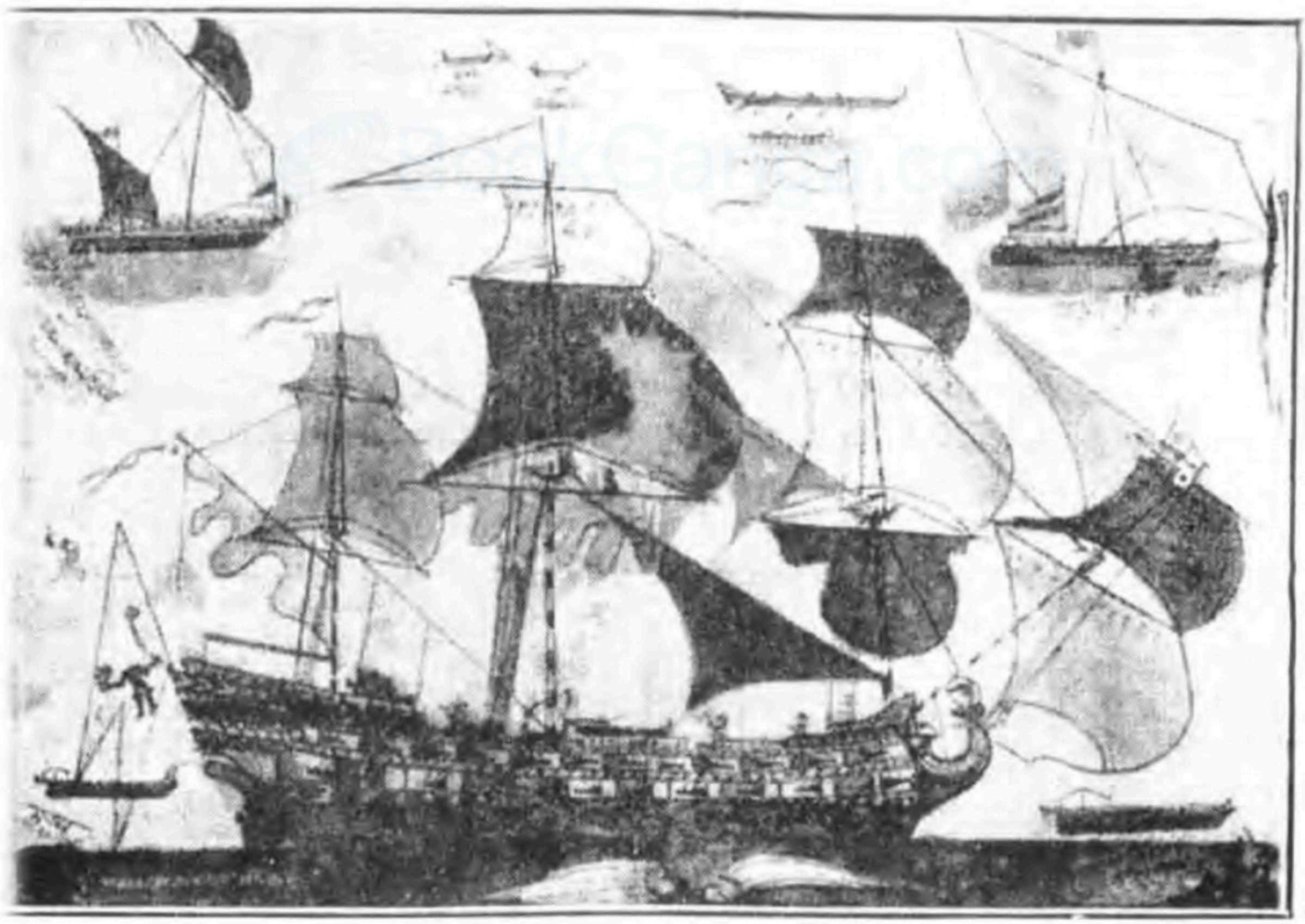

The Maratha Navy.

Chapter - IX

THE BRITISH CONQUEST OF THE KONKAN (1796 TO 1818)

After the triumph-battle of Kharda, the Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao, who was twenty one, developed a melancholy temper and in a mood of despondency, threw himself down the balcony of his palace on 25th October 1795 and two days later he died. This tragic death of the Peshwa brought disaster on the Maratha Empire. With the death of the Peshwa, Nana Phadnis' custodianship and his regency came to an end. Nana Phadnis tried to retain his position against the popular sentiment which favoured the cause of Bajirao-II, the son of Raghunathrao, who was the rightful successor to the Peshwaship. By the superior intrigues of Bajirao, Nana's attempt of obstructing Bajirao's claim to the **Masnad** was foiled. So Nana released Bajirao from the custody at Junnar and installed him to the Peshwaship at Poona on 6th December 1796.[1] Now Shinde's men came forward with their trained battalions to control the affairs of Poona. Nana got scared about his own safety, left the Capital on 21st March 1796 and came to Satara. He stayed at Wai for some days and when he came to know that Shinde's forces marched upon Wai to secure his person, he left that place in a secret manner on 3rd June 1796 and on the 6th arrived at Mahad, a large town within a few miles of the East India Company'sdistrict of Bankot.[2] Immediately, on the 11th June 1796, Uhthoff, the assistant Resident at Poona wrote to the Resident of Bankot to be watchful about the movements of Nana Phadnis.[3]

Episode of Mahad Diplomacy :

On his arrival at Mahad, Nana closed three of the roads from the Ghats communicating with Mahad by establishing numerious chawkies. He had at that time with him 1200 horse and 5000 foot. He wanted to raise more troops, according to English records. The Marathi contemporary letters, however, state that Nana gave leave to his horsemen and troops after retaining about 700 men.[5] In Poona Chimanaji Appa became the Peshwa and Parshuram Bhau Patwardhan

was appointed to manage the administration.[6] Parshuram Bhau who was Nana's friend had sent his son to Wai for a reconciliation with Nana.[7] But Nana refused to accept this friendly call. About the end of the month Nana actually opened negotiations with the English. On the 27th June, Nana's agent presented a letter to Malet who was then at Bombay.[8] From the secured position of Mahad, Nana set out to enlist support for himself from all possible quarters by spending much of his treasure which he had placed with trusted bankers all over the country.[9] This he did, for full four months (*10th June to 10th November 1796*). About the end of the month of June a rumour spread in Pooan that Nana was seeking shelter with the English and that Salsette had been fixed for his residence.[10] It was also rumoured that Nana opened secret negotiations with the Nizam, the Bhosle, the Raja of Kolhapur, the officers of the Huzurat at Poona and with Tukoji Holkar, Baba Phadke and even with Mushir-ul-Mulk, the Nizam's minister who was staying at Poona as a hostage for the fulfillment of the terms of treaty of Kharda.[11] Nana had also requested Nizam to keep ready his 15,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry to march at his signal to Poona.[12] It was Nana's intention to stay at Raigad. Subhedar of Raigad was Dadaji Gadre who was willingly helping Nana's cause. But Shinde approached Dadaji Gadre through his wife with an advice to abandon Nana's cause. Dadaji Gadre sent his wife away and Nana was taken into Raigad fort. Nana Phadnis was accompanied with Anyaba, a son of Hari Pant Phadke, Raghopant Godbole, Ana Shelukar and Bajaba Shirolekar.[13] But due to moisty weather, Nana did not stay at Raigad for a long time and came down to Pachad and Mahad.[14] The British had received a proposal from Nana in which it was proposed that they should assist Nana Phadnis with troops for setting up Bajirao as the Peshwa Bajirao on his accession he would cede to the Company a territory worth 25,00,000 of rupees, and also grant the same amount in cash. Bajirao's Government would always maintain friendship with the English.[15] As a result of the negotiations conducted by Nana from Mahad, the fortress of Salsette was vacated by the British for Nana's residence. Through Malet, they started pressing Daulatrao Shinde not to molest Nana and leave him free to stay anywhere he pleased under their guarantee.[16] Nana Phadnis also negotiated with the sides of Janjira[17] and instigated the Raja of Kolhapur to occupy the districts of Chikodi and Manoli which were then in Parshuram Bhau's possession.[18] Through his agent Nana also concluded a treaty with the Nizam, who in a letter promised to help Nana with 15000 men.[19]

A tempting bait had also been offered by Nana to Daulatrao Shinde, which ultimately resulted in the conclusion of an agreement between them. It was agreed that Shinde should arrest Baloba Tatya and his associates, and that he should also annihilate Parshuram Bhau and raise Bajirao to the Masnad. It was further agreed that after consolidating Nana's position in the administration he should proceed to the North. For the services rendered by the English he should pay Rs. 50 lakhs on his reaching Jamgaon and Rs. 50 lakhs after his crossing Godavari. In addition to this Shinde was promised the fort of Ahmednagar and a Jahgir of Rs. 10 lakhs in the south after Bajirao's accession.[20] Nana's wealth went a longway in winning over Holkar and the Huzurat to his side. All the parties with whom Nana had conspired from Mahad waited for the end of rainy season to make a move for effecting Nana's plan for the overthrow of Chimanaji and Bhau's Government. Soon after the Dasara at the end of October, Shinde suddenly arrested his minister Baloba Tatya.[21] Thus, having lost the support of his master, Baloba's power crumbled speedily. Now due to Nana's machinations, Holkar's army, Raghoji Bhosle and Mushir-u-Mulk marched with their troops to the Shaniwarwada to seize Bhau. But Parsharam Bhau Patwardhan got this news before hand. Therefore he took with him Peshwa Chimanaji. But he was intercepted and arrested and Chmanaji was brought to the Shinde's camp. Thereafter Shinde had directed Sarjerao Ghatge to bring Bajirao quickly to Poona. He had also written to Nana to come immediately to Poona and to assume the charge of the administration, assuring him of his goodwill. This brought Nana from Mahad to Poona on25th November 1796. All these events, preceding Bajirao's accession, resulted in great insecurity and instability in the state.

Let us now turn to the affairs of Angrian family of Kolaba. After Manaji's death in 1756, Raghuji Angre his son, succeeded to the Sarkholship. He paid the Peshwa a yearly tribute of Rs. 20,00,000 and held his land on military tenure furnishing a supply of troops. He frequently visited Poona, supported Nana Phadnis's schemes and took keen interest in the welfare of the young Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao. Forbes, who visited Alibag in 1771 found Raghoji living in the island fort of Kolaba and found Alibag pleasant and well-tilled.[22] He remained faithful to the Peshwa and in 1777 handed over the imposter of Sadashivrao Bhau to Nana, inspite of the fact that the English wanted the imposter in their custody.[23] We have also seen that the English had lodged several complaints to Poona court and with the Angre Govt. about the depredations committed by Angre on the vessels of the English merchants on the high seas.[24]

Raghuji died in 1793 leaving two minor sons, Manaji and Kanhoji by his wife Anandibai, and another called Jaysing by his concubine.[25] The Peshwa Government bestowed Sarkhelship on infant Manaji and Jaysingh was allowed to act as his Karbhari during the latters minority.[26] But Anandibai , jealous of Jaysing's influence over her son ,laid a plot for his destruction. In this, Jaysinghrao's Karbhari Balaji Pandurang was killed. Jaysing was made captive and lodged in Kolaba. His partisans were captured and kept as prisoners at Khanderi. Jaysingh's wife Sakawarbai was also kept under house arrest. Sakawarbai surprisingly got herself released, went to Nagothana port and captured a fortress. From there she rose in open rebellion and started disturbances in the territory. Jaysingh also got himself released and went to Poona for getting protection.

Due to the war of succession between Jaysingh and Manaji, the administration remained in a confused condition. The Navy and Army men could not receive their salaries for some time . Therefore, in order to collect arrears of the pay they started looting the people in Kolaba. Thus riots broke out at Shribagpeth. But the loyal army quelled, these riots ruthlessly and riotors' leaders were imprisoned and punished.[27]

The wife of Jaysing alongwith a child left Nagothana and came to Chaul at the feet of Goddess Ekvira Bhawani[28] (19 August 1798). On the 4th September 1796, Jaysing and Nagoji Angre marched with two thousand men to capture Alibag. Due to heavy rains the force could not make much advance. Therefore, Jaysing made three divisions of his force. He himself headed one division and captured Alibag and keeping his people at Mandvi established check posts.[29]

On the 13th September Jaysing captured fort Hirakot and hoisted his flag over it.[30] On the 11th he took into his possession Sagargad. His wife joined him at Hirakot.[31] On the 22nd September Fort Khanderi came into his possession. There Jaysing met his officers.[32] On the 10th November 1796, Karbhari of Jaysing got hurt by the cannon ball and on 14th November 1797 he died of it.[33] On the 16th December 1796, Jaysing defeated the rival army near Chaul.[34] Thereafter, Manaji with a few followers fled to Mahad and Anandibai died of frustration.[35]

Hearing that the Peshwa had promised to help Manaji, Jaysing applied for aid to Baburao, who was Shinde's Commnader - in - Chief. Baburao was relative of Jaising. Baburao thought of possession of Angre's affairs and at once consented to the proposal of Jaysing. Before going to Alibag, he arranged through Shinde that any attempt

of his to gain possession of Kolaba should have the Peshwa's support.[36] With this understanding Baburao Angre got out for Alibag with five to seven hundred men and halted at Revdanda near the house of Madhavrao Phadke on 22nd January 1797.[37] Thereafter, on the 13th February 1797 a battle between Jaysing and Baburao took place on the seashore between Akas and Sakher in which Baburao was defeated.[38] Moreover, Jaysing and Manaji met each other at Kolaba on the 6th March 1797.[39] But they could not arrive at an amicable settlement. In the meantime Jaysing came to know that Nagoji Angre became a treacherous insurgent and therefore, he was murdered by Jaysing on the 19th August 1797. After four months Daulatrao Shinde despatched his general Haripant Bhave, with guns and four hundred horse for Baburao's help for capturing Kolaba. The force started from Poona and came to halt at Khandala.[40] After coming to Alibag with this force, Baburao laid siege to Hirakot, the abode of Jaysing.[41] After some days, Jaysing quickly escaped from the fort on one night by swimming the creek came to Kolaba. Baburao took the fort of Hirakot and treacherously seized Manaji, Kanhoji and Jaysing.[42] Sakwarbai Angre, wife of Jaysing, once more came to her husband's help and captured the fort of Khanderi. In 1799 Manaji and Kanhoji fled to Poona and returned with few followers. Baburao besieged Khanderi. A battle ensued and Baburao had to lose some men.[43] Again the battle took place between the force of Baburao's and that of Manaji and Kanhoji at Chaul and at Nagothana. At both places Kanhoji and his brother Manaji were defeated and taken prisoners. Baburao who was now the undisputed master, was invested with the highest power by Peshwa Bajirao-II. Soon after, Baburao captured the forts of Kolaba, Hirakot, Sagargad and Mankgad except Khanderi.[44] But when he failed to capture Khanderi by force from Jaysing's wife he promised to get Jaysing free of Sakwarbai gave the fort. Thereupon, Khanderi was handed over but instead of releasing Jaysing, Baburao put him to death and threw his wife and children into prison. Jaysing's eldest son escaped to Bombay.[45] On the 20th December 1799 Baburao Angre was invested with robes of Sarkhel at Kolaba.[46]

On the 4th December 1796, Aba Shelukar who had been sent to Satara, returned to Poona with clothes of investiture and the ceremony of elevating Bajirao-II to the Peshwaship took place at mid-night.[47] Thus Bajirao's Government was established. In the new administration Nana Phadnis became the Prime Minister. Nana did not take much interest in the administration. In the later half of 1798 conditions in

the Maratha State deteriorated fast. Wars between the Kolhapur Raja and Patwardhan's, Gokhale and also the Chhatrapati raged in full fury. In October, 1798, an attempt was made by unknown assailants on the life of the Peshwa.[48] In the field of foreign affairs also things threatened to take a serious turn with the advent of Wellesley and with his manifestly aggressive intentions.

The last phase of Nana's administration began from the end of 1798. He came to know that plot was formed against him by Govindrao Kale and Sakharam Thatte. They were arrested and the former was sent to Sinhagad and the latter to Konkan.[49] Thereafter, he avoided interfering in the affairs of the state as far as possible. In the year 1799 and 1800 nothing much important had happened except the death of Nana Phadnis on 13th March 1800.[50]

Nana Phadnis's death did not improve Bajirao's position. On the contrary Shinde's ambitious grip over the Poona administration was evident. He appointed Amritrao, Peshwa's step brother, as Peshwa's Karbhari in place of Nana Phadnis. In the meantime Sarjerao Ghatge became Shinde's Prime-Minister. After the death of Nana Phadnis, Bajirao-II took revenge on the persons who were Nana's Partisans. Naropant Chakradeo, Bajaba Shiralekar, Raghopant Godbole and two more were imprisoned. They were despatched to Raigad and Pratapgad under the guard of Baloji Kunjar for safe custody. The renowned Sardar Madhavrao Raste was also put under arrest on the 10th October 1801 and sent to Raigad inspite of strong desire of the Karbharis for Rastre's release.[51] Bajirao-II arranged for Raste, good food, a hair cut according to his wish. He ordered the Killedar to look after Raste's health.[52] But Raste's children who were in Government custody at fort Korigad escaped from the prison around 15th November 1801. At this news the Peshwa got alarmed and issued orders for their capture. The Peshwa also wrote to.[53] Baloji Kunjar who was in charge of Taluka Raigad to that effect. The Peshwa thought that the disturbances and rebellions that flared up in different parts of Maharashtra were due to disruptive and subversive activities of the followers of Nana Phadnis. So he issued orders for the capture of 11 persons including four sons of Haripant Phadke, Moroba Dada Phadnis, Athavale, Raste and Bapu Phansalkar. All the 11 persons were lodged in the custody at Pal and Raigad.[54]

During the latter half of 1800, the Peshwa was filled with anxiety because of increasingly widespread disturbances in the whole of the Maratha country. However, the English Resident at Poona had offered the Peshwa the proposal for a subsidiary alliance since July 1798.[55]

It was renewed in 1799 after the war with Tipu was over. The negotiations were again commenced in April 1800. But the events did not shape as the English expected and the negotiations were put to an end. Further negotiations were begun by the Governor General in June 1802, but they did not receive adequate response from the Peshwa until September.[57] In September 1802, Holkar, after defeating the Peshwa's troops, came near Poona. On the eve of the fateful battle of Hadapsar, the Peshwa himself had not entertained any hope of success against Holkar.[58] So on the 27th September, Bajirao decided to run away with his retinue from Poona to Raigad. On the way to Raigad, Bajirao establisheda Dak by deputing Swar and gardis. On the 8th October, the Peshwa sent to Raigad, SawaiMadhavrao Peshwa's wife Yashodabai, his own wife and wife of Chimaji Appa. Immediately thereafter, Baloji Kunjar also sent his wife to Raigad.[60] To escape arrest from Holkar.

Before the Commencement of battle on the 25th October 1802 at Hadapsar, Bajirao had signed and executed an instrument (*Sanad*) of cession for the proposed Jaidad in favour of the British and at the time of marching out for battle he sent it to Resident Col. Close with his adherent Raghunathrao Dhaudde Bhagwat.[61] This instrument did not contain the names of any districts to be ceded but Governor General gave his consent to this instrument and delivered it to the Resident to close on October 25,1802. Thus, the Peshwa had in fact concluded a defensive alliance with the British Government.[62] Before leaving Poona in the direction of Konkan, Bajirao signed a declaration expressing his intention to seek asylum in the Company's territory should Holkar send a force to the place where he would take refuge. This made very clear the intention of Bajirao to seek protection from the English Government.[63] On the 25th October Yashwantrao Holkar won victory against Shinde and the Peshwa's force at Hadapsar, None of Bajirao's chiefs lost their life, as they like him, ran away to a place of safety. Bajirao and Chimnaji Appa fled and came to the fort of Sinhagad.[64] On the 27th October, Bajirao and Chimnaji Appa fled from Sinhagad and came to Birwadi, a village in Mahad Taluka of Kolaba District. Both of them stayed at Birwadi from 29th October to 4th November 1802,[65] with two to three thousand force. Alongwith Bajirao who fled from Poona were prominent persons such as Baloji Kunjar, Nimbaji Bhaskar, Daji Pant Deshmukh, Yashwant and Bhivrao Panse of artillery incharge, Biniwale, Roopram Chaudhari, Manohargir Gosavi, Khanderao Raste Balwantrao Nagnath. All these persons left Sinhagad and through Medhe Ghat via Anna Chatra came

to Mahad and thereafter reached Raigad. On the 28th October, Holkar despatched his force of about 12 to 15 thousand to seize fleeing Bajirao. Also he came to know that the British were determined to do to prevent Peshwa's seizure by his forces. Holkar did not give up chasing Bajirao by his force in Konkan because of the threat of British interference.[66] At Birwadi Bajirao stayed in the big house of Govind Joshi. The force with him went through the gallis of Birwadi and looted the houses of the villagers and destroyed the grain fields.[67] On the 30th October 1802, the Peshwa wrote from Birwadi[68] the following letter to Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay :-

"My servants Holkar and his party are carrying intrigues and wrongs against me. Much alarmed at their base conduct I have resolved to seek an alliance with your Honour on condition that should any of these rebels demand my person, it should be positively denied. Nor must your Honour tell me to go. Should this proposition meet with your approbation, you must make provision for my expenses. Also be pleased to furnish me large armed vessels in the harbour of Mahad. For further particulars on this head I refer your Honour to the bearer Naro Govind Avty."[69] With Holkar's men pursuing him, the Peshwa from Mahad went to Raigad and released Madhavrao Raste from the prison. Immediately on release, Madhavrao Raste took upon him the work of administering Raigad fort by setting aside the Havaldar of the fort.[70] Afterwards, the Peshwa instructed Raste to go to Karnatak to guard against Holkar establishing his sway in that part of the country.[71]

While the Peshwa was at Raigad Holkar's sardar Haripant Bhave reached in the vicinity at Raigad on 22nd November 1802 with force of one thousand gardis.[72] Immediately after Bhave, Holkar, Sardar Meerkahan Pathan descended from the ghat with 4 to 6 thousand force and was advancing to Mahad in pursuit of Bajirao.[73] This news alarmed Bajirao. He sent back a large part of his retinue 800 paga force,—— like Vinchurkar, Mane, Khajgiwale etc., to Poona. He kept Gopal Kunjar and Naroba Nana Avati with 400 men at Raigad,[74] and himself proceeded with considerable force in the southern direction and halted at a small fort called Harnai on the seaside near Suvarnadurg.[75] But the arrival there of the troops of Holkar's Lieutenant Shahmat Khan Pathan forced him to leave that place. On the 1st December 1802, the Peshwa boarded his own vessel while Hergulean and Antelope, the British ships, proceeded with him as a convoy to that place.[76]

The British supplied a sum of two lakhs of rupees to Bajirao to meet his personal needs. Khanderao Raste, the Peshwa's chief officer in Konkan came and paid him his respects at Suvarnadurg and helped him with his advice. To keep Bajirao in good humour the British Government instructed the British ships and the local agent on the coast to honour Bajirao with salutes and gunfire. This was done to please Bajirao. The ship with Bajirao on board halted at his request at Revdanda for two days and reached Bassein on 6th December. He was at that time in an extremely uncomfortable and helpless state. Resident Close who had left Poona on 28th November came and met the Peshwa at Bassein on the 7th December 1802.[78]

As the news of the Peshwa's arrival at Bassein reached Poona, Amritrao promptly appointed Subha Killedar for Bassein. He was directed to proceed to Bassein without loss of time with detachement of cavalry, infantry with guns, with a view to seizing the Peshwa.[79] The British ascertained that the new Subha Killedar of Bassein, Balwantrao Panse had descended the Ghat with his force and gave directions for their detachment at Ghodbandar to move to Bassein.[80] In the middle of December. A force was sent by Holkar to Suvarnadurg. The Peshwa's Subhedar of that place was captured and sent to Poona.[82] The family of the Peshwa, left at Suvarnadurg, was removed to the town of Harani and placed under the charge of Holkar's cavalry. They were later on escorted to Poona.[83]

British came to know that the stationing of their detachement at Bassein was viewed by Holkar as an act of opposition. Therefore, the British detachement was ordered to be posted at Ghodbandar or Salette from where it might be readily deployed across the water, as occasion might require, for the Peshwa's support. Accordingly, the British detachment occupied the position at Salsette and an armed vessel was stationed at Bassein with a view to afford further communications and security to Peshwa Bajirao-II.[84] On the 18th December, Resident Close had an interview with the Peshwa at which he proposed stipulations for a definitive treaty were fully discussed. The Peshwa, at the end, assented verbally to the stipulations contained in the draft of the treaty prepared by the British.[85] In the meantime the Poona Council decided to give Amritrao's son Vinayakrao in adoption to Yashodabai and make him Peshwa. But that lady was strictly confined by Bajirao at Raigad and Holkar's forces failed to extricate her and send her back to Poona.[86]

Yeshwantrao Holkar, apprised of what was passing at Bassein, offered to go there himself and meet the Peshwa all alone to warn

him against any unilateral commitment. Bajirao refused to see him.[87] However, the British felt that the Peshwa might proceed to Broach to join Shinde; they feared that the proposed alliance night, for ever, slip away from their hands. It was apparently at this stage that Resident Close threatened the Peshwa that the British would sign an alliance with Amritrao and Holkar if the Peshwa refused to sign the treaty.[88] Thereupon, most unwillingly, the Peshwa gave his consent to sign the treaty[89] as he did not want the British to get an opportunity to conclude the alliance with Amritrao. This treaty was signed, sealed and delivered on 31st December 1802. This treaty gave the British Government unquestionable supremacy over the Maratha States and paved the way towards the Indian Empire.[90] Its main stipulations were :-

(1) The two contracting parties agree that the friends and the enemies of the one should be treated as the friends and the enemies of the other.
(2) That the British should protect Bajirao's territory as their own.
(3) For this purpose a subsidiary force of not less than 6000 regular infantry with the usual proportion of field artillery, should be permanently stationed in Bajirao's dominions.
(4) For the expense of this force Bajirao should cede to the British, districts yielding 26 lakhs of rupees a year.
(5) The Peshwa was not to entertain in his service any European hostile to the English.
(6) In case of a dispute arising with the Nizam, Bajirao should accept the British arbitration.
(7) Bajirao should also respect the treaty of friendship recently concluded by the Gaikwad with the English and accept the British arbitration in case of a dispute.
(8) The British and Bajirao should give each other more military help whenever necessary.
(9) The Peshwa binds himself to engage in to hostilities with other states without previous consultation with the British Government.[91]

On conclusion of this treaty, Close wrote to Holakar the British decision of taking the Peshwa to Poona and said "you have all along been friendly to the British power, do preserve sentiment by quitting Poona.[92]" Thus Holkar was asked by the British to retire immediately to his own territory in Malwa. The British directed Colonel Murray to accompany Bajirao with his detachment to Poona via Kalyan which was still occupied by a party belonging to Amritrao.[93] Thereafter

General Wellesley was to regulate Bajirao's march to Poona.[94] Arthur Wellesley asked the Adjutant General of the Army to secure the march of the Peshwas from Bassein to Poona and to open the communication with the coast. Wellesley wanted to receive Bajirao in person below the Ghat.[95]

Bajirao himself accompanied by close came to Poona on the 13th March 1803. His restoration was celebrated by the British with every distinction of Military honour and public rejoicing.[96] Thus the Peshwa bartered away the Maratha independence to the East India Company from Bassein.

British gains in Southern Konkan :

After the installation of Bajirao on the Peshwa's mansad, he started taking vengeance on the Maratha Chiefs by ordering reduction in their armies. Bajirao sent his force against the Kiledar of Suvarndurg, Hari Balhal Kerkar. But the Maratha force sustained a defeat from the Kiledar. Thereafter, a small, British force was encamped at Kelshi, eight miles North of Suvarnadurg.[97] Due to the machination of the British, the fort was surrendered without resistance.[98]

Troubles in Southern Konkan :

Jivba Dada Kerkar, supporter of Khem Sawant, died on 6th January 1796. The British were busy in liquidating Tipu Sultan in a battle with him in 1798-99. At this time in October 1798, joint force of Kolhapur and the Portuguese attacked Sawantwadi. They created havoc in Sawantwadi territory. In the encounter at Avalegaon, Khem Sawant's forces under Chandre Farzad inflected a defeat on them on 25th October 1798. Chandra Farzad fought violently. In appreciation of his valour Khem Sawant appointed him as a permanent Sardar.[99] Thereafter, Khem Sawant ruled his territory peacefully till his death on the 6th October 1803. He had four daughters and no son. On the eve of his death Khem Sawant entrusted the gadi to the care of his wife Laxmibai. Two members of Sawant's family, Som Sawant and Sriram Sawant, were quarreling for the gadi. Each had a desie that Laxmibai should adopt his son as male heir and continue to administer Sawantwadi.

In order to gain his object, Som Sawant decided to imprison Laxmibai and Durgabai. He deputed his son Phond Sawant to Redi and sasked him to gather people and bring them to Sawantwadi to help him to capture the palace. As decided before, Som Sawant[100] took possession of the palace and waited for the help from Redi, which he did not get in time. In the meanwhile Shriram Sawant who

was away from the capital came to know Som Sawant's action. Thereafter, Shriram Sawant gathered the force and attacked Som Sawant and defeated him. Som Sawant was now forced to submit with his family in the siege laid down by Shriram. Finding that there was no way to come out from the palace, all members of the family of Som Sawant got burnt to death to escape torture at the hands of his victorious rival. This incident took place on 16th April 1804, when Phond Sawant was away in Redi.[101]

Phond Sawant, the surviving son of Som Sawant, now appealed to Kolhapur to save his life and take him away. Thereupon, Kolahpur Raja agreed to help him and deputed his sardar Ratnakar Appa Rajanya to Malwan who went to fort Rediand brought Phond Sawant with him to Kolhapur.[102] After the rainy season Kolhapur forces came down to the Konkan and took possession of Kudal and the forts of Narsingad, Bharatgad and Nivati. At this time Phond Sawant as well as the Raja of Kolhapur[103] were in touch with the Government of Goa to safe guard their interest. But the Portuguese pretended to be the defender of none as the neutrality towards them was beneficial to Goa. At this time, fearing that Kolhapur might over run the entire Kingdome, Laxmibai agreed to recognize Phond Sawant as the successor of her late husband.[104]

However, Phond Sawant was not destined to rule Sawantwadi for long. In 1805, his powerful rival Shriram Sawant came with a large force and attacked him. Phond Sawant fled to Kudal. The victorious Shriram Sawant compelled Rani Laxmibai to adopt his son Ramchandra, who became the ruler of Sawantwadi after adoption. Meanwhile, Phndsawant who was at Kudal got help from Kolhapur, after Dasara of that year (*1805*) Kolhapur Sardar Ratnakar Pant Rajanya came upon Bharatgad and captured it. Then he advanced to Nandos where he met with stiff apposition from Ramchandra Khanvilkar.[105] Rani Laxmibai's Sardar Khnawilkar captured Nandos and thereafter with his troops he captured Nivati and Yeshwantgad and then led siege to Bharatgad. At this time, Laxmibai made plea to Kolhapur not to interfere in their domestic affairs.[106] But it had no effect.

Kolhapur Raja came down to Konkan and wrested from Laxmibai the forts of Bharatgad and Narisingad and the territory annexed was estimated to yield annually a lakh of Rupees.[107] At this time, Goa Government was approached for help. So the Goa Viceroy passed orders to respective commandments to help the widow of Khem Sawant.[108] This had no effect on Kolhapur force. Thereafter,

the victorious Kolhapur force surrendered Sawantwadi.[109] But at this time something happened which compelled Kolhapur Shivaji to lift the siege and make haste to his own capital.[110] In a clever timed deplomatic manoeuvre, Laxmibai had managed to enlist the help of Appa Desai who despatched a whole regiment of 100 Arabs mercenaries to Laxmibai's aid. To face this attack Kolhapur had to pull back his forces and returned to Kolhapur.[111] (*April 18th 1807*). In the next year (*1808*), Appa Desai's troops came down to Konkan and occupied the fort of Redi. Thereafter, they went to Wadi and took Ramchandra Sawant and his Prime Minister as prisoners in July 1808.[112] The Wadi Chief sought British aid against Desai.[113] In the year 1809, Phond Sawant the new Wadi Chief, was defeated by Mansing Patankar, the Kolhapur general; he was persued and his lands laid waste as far north as Rajapur. In 1810 the Kolhapur forces were again forced to leave Konkan and Redi and Nivati fell into the Sawan's hand.[114]

Between the years 1793 to 1811, the whole of the South Konkan was in possession of the Wadi State. As the consequence of the treaty of Bassein in 1802 with the Peshwa, an English fleet, on behalf of the Peshwa, took in 1803 the fort of Suvarnadurg from one of his officers. This we have already stated previously.

Piracy harassed the British trade so much so that the marine superintendent suggested to the Bombay Government measures to blockade Malwan and Redi in October 1802.[115] The same proposal was renewed by the marine superintendent on 4th October 1802 for Government sanction.[116] Bombay Government wrote to the Governor General on 30th October about measures taken against piratical fleet of Malwan, Redi and Beyt.[117] As the British were engrossed in convincing Peshwa Bajirao to accept their terms and enter into treaty of defensive alliance with them, no stricter action seams to have been taken by them except blockading the piratical ports of Malwan, Redi, Suvarnaduga and Bassein once in a year till 1812.[118] As Malwan was under the control of the Kolhapur Raja, there are numerous references in Kolhapur Niwadi and Parasnis records regarding complaints lodged by the British Government demanding compensation for the goods from the British trading ships taken over by the pirates between Malwan and Redi.[119] To redress the grievances of the British, Kolhapur Raja tried his best and once ordered one Shivramsheth Athanikar to carry away the English Boats and Fattamaries captured by him to Bombay and to give them in the possession of Bombay Government.[120] Another order was sent to Madhavrao Gaikwad, incharge of fort

Sindhudurg not to molest British ships.[121] The Kolhapur Raja's warning to his naval ships had a desired effect as can be seen that on receipt of the Chhatrapati's orders Nivati Mamlatdar returned the British trading ships to them.[122] Thus we find numerous documents in the Marathi Daftar at Kolhapur Record Office about the capture of trading ships at the ports of Malwan, Nivati and Redi. The remedy adopted was the blockade of the ports belonging to Kolhapur and Wadi as stated before. The Kolhapur Raja's promises had proved worthless. The British were convinced that unless they held some forts and the harbour near Malwan, there was no safety for British trade. The British got opportunity while settling the disputed matters between the Peshwa and Kolhapur, on the 13th October 1812. During the negotiations, the British suggested the Raja to cede Malwan to them which was agreed to buy the latter and the Peshwa.[123] Accordingly Kolhapur Raja ceded to the British the fort of Sindhudurga and island of Malwan and its dependencies.[124] At the same time, the British got possession of the fort of Vengurla from Rani Laxmibai, the acting regent of the Wadi state.[125] The Wadi state bound itself to cut down piracy to pass duty free all articles required by the British troops and on their paying customary duty to allow British merchants a free passage to and from the Wadi State. The reason for the treaty was the disorder in Sawantwadi which led to piracy and grave danger to British commerce.[126] Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, Phond Sawant died.

On the conclusion of the treaty with Kolhapur Raja, Elphinstone got orders of their surrender of Malwan and the annexed forts, from the Kolhapur Raja which he forwarded to Lieutenant Colonel Smith.[127]

The British acknowledged the possession of Sindhudurg, Rajkot and Padmadurg to the Raja of Kolhapur. At the same time we also notice an agreement made by the British[128] with the Kolhapur Raja for receiving compensation by the British ships which suffered at the hands of pirates in the Malwan port.[129] The British also posted the 2nd Battalion of the 7th Regiment under the command of Major Webbs. In the agreement none of the guns or stores belonging to the fort Sindhudurg were transferred to the British and the Raja's people were allowed to take them away at their own convenience.[130] Lieutenant Colonel Smith took charge of the Sindhudurg fort and territory around it from the Raja of Kolhapur. Smith made a report to Government of Bombay on the general state of Malwan Vengurla and Nivati.[131] In his report Smith stressed the military importance of these places and recommended that the Resident be installed to look

after the company's new acquisition and to keep vigilance on the conduct of the Rani of Sawantwadi.[132] The supreme Government approved the deputation of Lt. Col. Smith as the Resident and his report. The new possession acquired by the company was made dependent on the presidency of Bombay and requested Bombay Government to make arrangements for the Civil Administration and Military defence of Malwan and Vengurla.[133] A native agent was appointed to reside at Nivati for the purpose of examining all vessels which might sail from that port. Finally, the Bombay Government was ordered to receive instructions in the management of this territory from the Poona Resident M. Elphinstone.[134] Accordingly, on the 25th January 1813, J.J. Sparrow was appointed the first the British Resident of Malwan and its dependencies including the cessions made by the Sawantwadi Raja.[135] The Bombay Governor received a report from the incharge of Sindhudurg about the military importance of various ports in that part, Vengurla as a port and its defence, and military arrangements for the defence of the newly occupied territories. Finally, the report speaks of the crops grown, the revenue collected and the general condition of the ceded districts.[136]

Thereafter, the petty state of the Wadi continued to give pin pricks to the British. Rani Durgabai, had seized the forts of Bharatgad and Narsingad, which some few years before had been wrested from Sawantwadi by Kolhapur. The British had in the meanwhile, guaranteed to defend the Kolhapur territory[137] against all attacks. Knowing this, Durgabai obstinately refused to give up the forts. Therefore, a British force under Colonel Dowsy recaptured them and restored them to Kolhapur.[138] During the hostility of the Rani of Sawantwadi to Kolhapur, the British as an ally of the Kolhapur were compelled to take possession of the districts of Malandi and Varad by force.[139] The British also made efforts to revive friendly relations with Kolhapur by proposing new terms of settlements through the envoy at Goa. The British fearing the security of their newly acquired scattered territory, requested Rani for the resettlement of their possessions by exchange of districts. The Rani turned down these proposals. The British were determined to hold on in the face of open or concealed hostility of the Rani. Moreover, the British were aware of the fact that in future hostility with the Rani was unavoidable.[140] The British also noticed that the Rani's officials gave constant trouble to the collector at Malwan regarding collection of revenue in the territories ceded to the East India Company.[141] This time the Supreme Government also asked the Bombay Government

to take precautions and guard against any attempt of Sawantwadi State to invade the British territory.[142] The Rani also claimed her right to levy duties in the Karli River.[143] and the customs of Nandose.[144] So the Bombay Council directed the Resident at Malwan to exclude Rani from all participation in the collection of duties or other acts of sovereignty within Varad, Malandi and Vengurla Districts.[145] In 1814 the Rani imprisoned the Clerk and emissary of the envoy of Goa.[146] The Supreme Government at Calcutta took a serious view of the Rani's action.[147] In October of 1815 the Rani release the Karkoon of the envoy of Goa. By this time the British Government had engaged itself in dispute with the Peshwa; so it was decided by the Bombay Government " to avoid all participation in the desputes of Sawantwadi." In Sawantwadi itself the Rani was surrounded by intrigues of her own sardars, especially one Chandroba, who constantly sought British aid and shelter in his disputes with Durgabai. The Malwan Resident also found Rani having secret correspondence with the Poona Darbar. Complaints poured in of the Rani taking advantage of the complications between the British and the Court of Poona.[148] On the 20th November 1817, the British Resident at Malwan was informed of the Peshwa's defeat and the annexation of his dominions. On the 16th December 1817 the Malwan Resident was directed to take possession of the Peshwa's share of the Districts partially ceded to the British Government in the neighbourhood of Malwan. On the 4th April 1818, the Malwan Resident informed the Government of Bombay that the British were in possession of all the Peshwa's territories in Konkan[149] and informed the Government of the aggressive attitude of the Sawantwadi. Rani also made preparations to face the eventuality.[150] She was also found intriguing with the Nipani Chief. In December 1818, the Bombay Government decided to take action against Sawantwadi.[151] In a letter of 15th December 1818, the Bombay Government framed its charges against Sawantwadi. Major General Sir. William Grant Keir was placed in command of the Army of invasion. The British force entered Sawantwadi and occupied it. On the 17th February 1819, Sir. W. Grant Keir concluded a treaty with Sawantwadi.[152] The terms of the treaty put an end to all fears in that quarters and secured Bombay Government mastery of Konkan.

Earlier we have already mentioned that Bajirao-II accepted British protection at Bassein and he was carried through north Konkan to Poona by the British for restoring him to Peshwaship in early 1803. We shall now give a brief account of the main events that took place

elsewhere in the north Konkan since the accession of Baburao Angre to his Sarkhelship in 1799.

Baburao Angre succeeded to the Sarkhelship in 1799 and his career lasted up to 1813. During this period general peace and tranquility prevailed in Kolaba except some minor incidents such as: the Angre Government would capture a boat, the English would protest first and then capture a boat of the Kolaba Government, this would be followed by another protest and counterprotest and finally both the parties would release all the boats if each other.[153] In 1803 the Kolaba fleet captured an English ship. On protest it was released by the Angre and the English warned the Angre that his armed boats would be captured by the Bombay Marine in future.[154]

Sakwarbai, wife of Jaysing, was at Khanderi fort with his son. On 12th August 1800, she wrote to the English at Bombay about her pitiable position. She complained that Baburao Angre for the last four years was persecuting her and her sons and hence she looked to the British for help. She also deputed her son and one Sardar Appajirao Chawan to Bombay for procuring English help for release of three Sardars who were in Baburao's custody.[155] Baburao also tried to buy from the English their neutrality in the matter with a request to avoid completely all intercourse between Bombay and Khanderi.[156] At this time Raghunath Angre, son of Tulaji Angre, assured the British his help to them against the Peshwa at the time of war between them and remained in Bombay under British protection.[157] This was resented by Baburao Angre who told the British that he would blockade the Khanderi Island and would capture the place by assault.[158] According Baburao Angre took possession of Khanderi Island by assault on 29th October 1800.[159] Appaji Chawan, servant of the Angre, imprisoned Jaisingh's family which was in the fort and assassinated the wife of Jaisingh.[160] Thereafter, Baburao went to Poona to help Shinde's forces against Holkar. When Bajirao ran to Mahad from Poona, Baburao met Bajirao at Revdanda and tried to dissuade him from throwing himself into the British arms.[161] Bajirao did not listen to him and therefore, Baburao returned to Poona. Amritrao was installed as a Peshwa in Poona on the 12th November 1802. Thereafter, Holkar's forces looted Poona to collect funds for meeting the expenses of the soldiers. In this frenzy, Baburao Angre's camp at Poona was plundered and every thing was carried away.[162] So Baburao returned to Kolaba from the fortress of Manikgad.[163]

In the next year Baburao had to face a revolt of one Bacha Sonar, resident of Revdanda. Bacha Sonar and Gopal Pant Joglekar

went to Karanja from Bombay and collected the people. They carried raids on two village near Manikgad and plundered them. Baburao caome to know that these people were instigated by Murarjee Angre who was under Company's protection. Therefore, he deputed his Vakil to the English at Bombay requesting them to handover Murarji and Gopal Pant who were at Karaja.[164]

Major General Wellesley informed Baburao Angre that in May 1803 the English forces captured fort Karnala in the territory of Angre and gave it in the possession of the Peshwa. He also asked Baburao to drive out the Bandits who were swarming round the fort.[165]

After reinstating Bajirao at Poona in 1803 the English Residency and the subsidiary forces stationed at Poona were getting supplies from the harbours in possession of the Angre. So the British did not want to drive Baburao Angre into hostility. However, they passed a resolution to have at least Angre's country in their possession and for that purpose they asked the higher authorities to induce the Peshwa to make a cession of Angre's territory to the Hon'ble Company.[166] So the British move to acquire Konkan territory was afoot from 1803.

Bachhashet Sonar was helped by Murarrao Angre, Mahimaji and Ramaji Angre. All these insurgents collected arms and ammunition with the help of the English at Bombay and attacked Kolaba. They gathered their forces at harbour Mandve. From there they pounced on Kolaba. Because of this sudden flare up, Baburao Angre got baffled and went to Manikgad for shelter.[167] On information from Baburao, the English despatched naval ships to Kolaba.[168] The rebels captured fort Hirakot and they were about to attack Kolaba. At this time Parsharm Shridhar Biwalkar, Killedar of Khanderi came to Kolaba and took the lead to save Baburao and the rayot from this aggression. He induced to his side Jamadar Ramrajkar Fattekhan, a confident of Bachhaji Sonar, by giving him one lakh rupees. Jamadar Fattekhan agreed to hand over the rebels to Angre government. Accordingly, Angre force attacked fort Hirakot where insurgents had gathered. The battle ensued and Manaji Angre fled away to Bombay. Bachhashet, Mahimji Angre, Ramaji Angre were made captives.[169] Except Ramaji, the three were beheaded. Ramaji Angre was put to death by flinging him from Sagargad in 1807.[170] Thus peace and tranquility was brought to the Angrian territory.

Thereafter, Baburao Angre, had a peaceful life till his death on 16th August 1813. Raghuji Angre succeeded him on the 18th December 1817.[171] During this period Trimbakji Dengle, murderer of Gangadhar Shastri of Baroda, was imprisoned at Thana on 26th

September 1815. He was kept under the guard composed entirely of Europeans according to the orders of the Governor General.[172] Trimbakji's guards were all Europeans and did not know Marathi language. Trimbakji was given one room for his residence on the upper storey of a building of the fort, the ground floor of which was used as stables. A clever Maratha Syce selected by Bajirao took up service with one of the English officers. These Syces whiles grooming the horses usually sing some tunes. This particular Syce communicated through his songs the way of escape to Trimbakji Dengle, the prisoner. Bajirao had made arrangement about the horses. European guards did not suspect any mischief in these Marathi songs. On the evening of 12th September 1816 Dengle and Syce disappeared in the darkness and rode through jungles to North Khandesh.[173] Under the pressure from Elphinstone, the Peshwa issued proclamation and a reward for his arrest.[174] On the 6th June 1817 the Peshwa was forced to conclude a fresh treaty with the British. This treaty is known as Treaty of Poona. Some months before this Treaty of Poona was signed four hordes of Pendharis swept from the Deccan to plunder the Konkan. They went as far as Asheri and Tarapur.[175] After the rains in November 1817 the Peshwa openly declared war with the English and let loose on the Konkan. Trimbakji Dengle's hordes of Bhils and Ramoshis. In December the Peshwa was close to the Nane pass. The British took measures to prevent his entering into the Konkan. In January 1818 Colonel Prother with this force took the important forts of Karnala, Rajmachi and Koari.[176] The acquisition of the North Konkan was completed by Captain Barrow's Victory near Kusur pass over a body of Arabs, Musalman and Kolis.[177] Thana was maintained as a military station. This success was achieved by the English under the immediate order of the Government of Bombay with inadequate force at their command. This was noticed by M. Elphinstion and he praised the Bombay Government in his letter to the Governor General of India.[178] He also recommended that the settlement of the Konkan be done by then Governor-in-Council of Bombay[179] and suggested that Northern Konkan be annexed to the Bombay Presidency under the authority of Government of Bombay.[180] The Governor General heartily approved Elphinstion's proposal for the consolidation of the British administration by giving his assent to the annexation of the whole of Konkan to the Presidency of Bombay on 26th September 1818.[181]

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PART - 2

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THE SCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF KONKAN REGION DURING 1630 TO 1818 A.D.

Social life in Kokan under the Marathas centered round the village communities - The administrative machinery which the village communities evolved comprised the Patil or Mukadam Kulkarni, the Chaugula and the Mahar - Disputes in the villages were settled by an assembly of the entire Gota or Pandhar of the village - The most important function of the Gota or village council was that of administering justice - composition of village Gota and system of dispensing justice is explained. How village communities had freedom in the matters of general administration of the village is shown by quoting examples. Physical description of major castes is given and their traditions regarding religions matters are explained with the help of documents found in the Peshwa Daftar Deccan Commissioner's files Rumals nos. 139, 149 to 155.

This work in divided in Ten Chapters.

The Tenth Chapter deals with the Village Community. Social life in Konkan under the Marathas centered round the Village Communities - The administrative machinery which the Village Communities evolved comprised the Patil or Mukadam, Kulkarni the Chaugula and the Mahar. Disputes in the village were settled by an assembly of the entire Gota or Village Council was that of administrating justice Composition of village. Gota and system of dispensing justice is explained. How village Communities had freedom in the matters of general administration of the village is shown by quating examples.

The Eleventh Chapter tells us how the Village Community had to be self-relient in matters of defence and rural administration. The Village naturally became the centre of economic activities. The kinds of lands in the Villages explained the term Wadi. Padi, Kheri Majara,

Mira, Peth are also explained. The functions of Deshaks, Deshpande, Patil, Kulkarni, Shete, Mahajan are stated. Other than the above officers there were Balutedara and Mirasdars in the Village. There were mainly three kinds of land tenures by which all Village land was held i.e. Mirasi, Upari and Vatan tenures. It is also explained how the residents of the Village were a Community of farmers, traders, artisans and administrative officers. Finally a structure and functions of Grampanchayat are given.

The Twelfth Chapter deals with social structures based on caste in the village. The whole set of people in the village of Konkan has been divided in hundreds of smaller groups Jat in Indian languages and Caste's by western Anthropologist. All these groups with their works in village are explained in detail.

The Fifteenth Chapter gives us a functions of joint family, marriage and position of woman in the Society.

In the Sixteenth Chapter religion and social customs of (1) Brahmins, (2) Non-Brahmins, (3) Tribes, (4) Muslims, (5) Christians in the village are explained with examples.

In Chapter Sixth it is said that Konkan had as now a mixed population Hindus. Muslims and Christians. The details about the people, their dwellings, dress, food, education, festivals and entertainment are investigated. Lastly religious and social customs of the artisans and various tribes are explained in detail.

The Chapter Seventeenth is relating to agriculture, revenue administration and land tenures in Konkan. The Peshwa Government gave protection to agriculture against famine, food, draught and the movement of army. Whenever, the peasants suffered due to natural and military factors, the Peshwa Government upon the request of the concerned villages, gave remission in the revenue. It also gave inam land and financial assistance for the construction of wells, dams and canals. The Government also established Peths according to wishes of the people. Khoti, Dharkaris and Upris were the three classes of villages, definition and functions of these tenures are explained with reference to revenue records.

The formation of the Peths, and the appointment of the officials like Shete, Mahajan and Kotwal has been included in the Eighth

Chapter namely "Agricultural Trade and Commerce". The rights and duties of the officials of the Peth have also been indicated in this Chapter.

In Chapter Eighteenth internal trade of Konkan is explained. Coconuts, Toddy, Mango, Jack and Rice are the main items that came to the market for sale. In Konkan, Ship building industry was making spectacular progress and merchants-capitalists were not slow in extending their economic activities. During the Peshwa's time the industries and trade which were in vogue since the days of Shivaji were conducted without interruption. The self-sufficient villages had various minor industries and trade in the village itself. Articles made by village artisans such as shoes, blankets, cloth and articles of wood were sold in the Kasba Market.

The last Chapter (Nineteenth) highlights upon the salt industry, ship building, dry fish, mangoes, cashunuts, teaktimber, coconuts and kathya ropes. Dabhol, Kalyan, Rajapur, Chaul were the principal trade centres. Dabhol merchants were trading in the South East-Asia Merchants in Konkan like elsewhere were drawn from different religious ethnic groups. Throughout the 17th century, Kalyan, Bhivandi & Chaul were the tows with industries and crafts and also centres of production of manufactured articles. Thus the important centres of trade and commerce in Konkan are explained.

Chapter X

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

The economic organisation of village community was based on the hereditary occupation of each villager. The village community played a vital part in the economy of Konkan during the mediaeval and modern period of Maratha History. The village community as a whole having proprietary rights in all lands, different shares were assigned to the various members for the purpose of cultivation. The village community during the mediaeval period was founded on two mutually opposite ideas, the mode of individualistic production and the pattern of collective organisation, owing to the need for the production of market goods and the necessity of having a self-sufficient economy. The village produced a large number of goods for sale in the urban markets and also for the use of the members of the village community. In matters of production the individual's right to his lands was recognised, and in other matters they acted collectively.

The total area of the village consisted of two kinds. One was arable land and the other, land used for habitation.[1] There are different terms by which a village is referred to in the source material such as Grama, Dehe, Mouja, Khede etc.[2]

In Konkan, the village community was called the Pandhari and was mainly composed of three classes of persons, viz. the Watandars, the Mirasdars and the Upris. The term vatan clearly implied that the holder of the vatan was given tax-free land which was hereditary and which was held by him in perpetual occupation. In recognition of this privilege the Vatandar was obliged to render service to the state in the village.

The Patil was originally a government officer who was required to work in co-operation with another officer called Kulkarni; both of them were supposed to collect fixed amount of land revenue from the village and the Kulkarni had to keep the accounts of the payments made by different land-holders. It was the duty of Patil to see that the state dues of the land revenue were correctly collected and paid to the state treasury. Thus the state had no direct contact with the

individual landholder. It was the Patil who was the link between the state and the individual landholder. Thus the Patil was individually responsible to see that all the state dues were properly collected and it was he who was responsible if there was any deficiency in the stipulated amount of collection.[3] A very large number of villagers paid land revenue. They were called Mirasdars.[4] Mirasdar is an Arabic term meaning hereditary owner. The original designation of the post was Thalkari which in Arabic became Mirasdar. The tenants who were not owners were called Upari, or strangers. There are others who rendered various services to the villagers. They were called Balutedars. They were given annual payment in the form of agricultural produce for their services. This payment was known as Baluta. The number of Balutedars differ from village to village.[5] There is a document in connection with the grant of the office of Kulkarni and Joshi to persons by the Mirasdars and Balutedars of the village. In this document there is a mention of nearly ten Balutedars with their professional symbols.[6] The exact position of the Balutedars in the Go-sakha has also been specified in this document. The hereditary officer - Mirasdars and Balutedars - of the villages were empowered to take important decision jointly on the problems of the village. There were several artisans and professionals included among there Balutedars such as Washermen, Barbers, Mangas, Potters, Mahars, Carpenters, Oilmens, Blacksmiths, Shoe makers etc. They were obliged to render honest services to the villagers and their services had to be compensated by annual payments in kind which were regulated by the age old custom.[7] Among the other servants of the village were included the Joshis, Guravas and Mulanis etc. They had to help the villagers in answering the religious needs of the villagers. They were to be compensated in two ways. One was through the fees paid in kind by the clients and the other was through rent free land given to them. The Deshaks were not able to cultivate all the lands that were owned by them. So part of the lands were cultivated by others. Such other cultivators were called tenants, who were referred to as Upari. These Uparis used to cultivate land on payment of rent generally in kind or cash to the owner of the land.[8] Thus Vatandars, Thalkaris, Balutedars and Uparis can be bracketed together as the village community leading a life of mutual co-operation.

There were mainly three kinds of land tenures, by which all village land was held viz. Mirasi or Talvahika, Upari and Vantan tenure, i.e. vatan land held by village officers and artisans, i.e. Balutedars. In the Mirasi tenure, the ownership of the land was with

the cultivator. The property was hereditary and saleable. The Mirasdar or Talavahika that is the holder of the Miras land could not be removed from the possession of the land, so long as he continued to pay the land tax. In case he was disposed of the land he had a right to reclaim it even after a gap of at least thirty years.[9] In 'Upare' tenure, the cultivator had the right to cultivate the land which was not of his own, it was held by him by a temporary lease, on terms which were not uniform everywhere. Thus the upari was just a tenant and not an owner of this land.[10] According to tradition and legendary accounts, in respect of the formation of villages, all land was in the beginning Miras land; it was apportioned by the original settlers among themselves. The present Mirasdars were the descendants of those original settlers. The uparis were introduced as the old proprietors sunk under the tyranny of the Muslim rulers. The fact is that the greatest part of the lands cultivated by the uparis was recorded in the village books as belonging to absent proprietors,[11] says Elephinstone. The third type of tenure was vatan tenure.

Vatandars :

Vatan was grant of land made by the state to a person who held a certain office and discharged duties of the state. It continued in his family so long as the services were rendered efficiently to the state by the members of the family and the continued to remain loyal to the state. The land itself was called a Vatan and the holder of such land was called a Vatandar. The Vatandar was paid sometimes in cash and kind. The Vatandar claimed this remuneration from the villagers as a matter of right. It has been referred to as rights and dues i.e. Haklajima.[12] Such Haklajimas had state recognition and they were included even in Vatan deeds.[13]

In fact the Vatandars were maintained by the village. The villagers used to pay them for services. They were permanent officials of the village, their services being indispensable for the smooth working of the village administration. The position of the Vatandar was in no way affected as a result of a change of rulers. This can be verified from the fact that the Vatandars who were servicing under the Muslim rulers, continued to enjoy the same privileges even under Shivaji, who annexed Muslim territories to his Kingdom.[14] In addition to the duty of collecting land revenue and encouraging agriculture, the Vatandars were entrusted with various other duties such as deciding petty local disputes in the village community council i.e. Panchayat, taking a leading part in village festivals and ceremonies, attending to colonization and habitation and keeping of peace and

order in the specified area. A vatan had various implications as well as an index to social prestige and dignity. People were even prepared to sacrifice a higher position in career for the possession of Vatan. In view of his meritorious services Shivaji decided to include Balaji Prabhu in his "Asthapradhan". However, he expressed his earnestness to continue his Chitnis vatan in his family throughout Shivaji's Kingdom. Such was the attraction of the vatan to Marathas.[15] Even Shivaji himself in his early career felt elated in being shifted as Vatandar. In fact the Mararthas attached too much importance to the vatan system. Kudal, Rajapur, Kole, Dabhol, Poona, Javli, Kalyan, Supa and Bhivandi were considered by Shivaji as his vatan lands.[16] It had became a practice in the past that the right of collecting land revenue was entrusted to the Vatandars. The Vatandars commanded a dominating voice in the affairs of the state. The Vatandars became hereditary officers. Their duties, rights and perquisites multifarious and they were enjoyed by them with the consent and cooperation of the village communities. The principal officers who were connected with the village administration were Patil, Kulkarni and Talathi.

Duties of Patil :

It was the duty of the Patil to represent the views of the cultivators to the government regarding fixation of land revenue. The Patil was responsible for keeping the government fully posted with the correct and detailed information in respect of the land holdings in his village, crops growth and revenue realised.[17] He was responsible for the revenue of the village. In order to save the trouble of collecting land and revenue from the individual cultivator Government had rewarded the Patil with rent-free land.[18] He was the respectable member of the village council. The meetings of the village Panchayats used to be conducted by him.[19] To maintain the peace and order in the village was one of the duties of the Patil.[20] The Patil was entrusted with Magisterial duties also. The boundaries of every village were clearly specified and they were carefully maintained by the residents. Lands of the village were divided into fields. The boundaries of the fields were carefully known and preserved. Generally every field had a name and it was not changed even though there was a change in the ownership of the field. In addition to the cultivable land every village had some waste and fallow lands which were used as common graxing grounds by the villagers. They were known as Gayasam. That was in which settlement of a community was made in a village, clearly shows that the entire set-up of the village organisation was land-oriented.

Thus, the residents of the village were a community of farmers, traders, artisans and administrative officers, who were required to answer their daily needs. In other words there were mainly three classes of people who constituted the village community viz. Cultivators, the peripheral organisation of the artisans i.e. Balutedars, and the village officers and traders. The cultivators had been divided into two classes the Mirasis and Uparis according to the kind of land tenure. In north Konkan Adhikaris were the Vatandars of the village communities. The Adhikaris enjoyed a number of privileges which they collect from the village residents. For instance if a person was convicted of adultery, the Adhikari was to get a Shella (scarp) from the convict, in addition to the fine paid to the government, the penance charges, perhaps paid to those who were in charge of the village temples as it was called Devadand, and some time to his community called Gotdanda.

Gotdanda :

A person polluted by dining with the members of the prohibited community, was made to pay a scarf to the Adhikari besides undergoing all penance's prescribed by the scriptures or the customs of this gota, like pilgrimages or charities (dandharma in proportion to his crime.)

The approved adoption ceremony brought him the present of a scarf. Whenever there was a marriage or any auspicious ceremony in the family, the Adhikari was entitled to receive betel leaves, perfumes, scarf or a coconut as a substitute, etc. from the party concerned. **Deepawali, Holi** or **Shimga** or **Padva** were the major ceremonies of the village, when the Adhikaries were honoured with presents. The merchants of the market (Mohatrfa) and the professional musicians (Vajantri) could not escape payment of haks to the Adhikaries.[21]

The Shetes :

Chaul being an important commercial mart, the Shetes or the officers incharge of the market occupied a prominent position in the social life as well. He was regarded as Nagarshet. One Dharmaji Gambirrao Shete, pleaded before the Deshakas (Members of the village council) in the year 1600 A. D. that his ancestors were enjoying a number of privileges, since antiquity and they should be continued undisturbed. A scarf at marriage in any family, a **lari** on the arrival of a male child in the family; feast and a **lari** from each house in Chaul every year; payment of a lari or half lari from village artisans like Barber, Tailor, Carpenter, Goldsmith, Blacksmith, Meson, Painter etc. in lieu of feast, and some payment from the merchants of the

market, are some of the privileges enjoyed by the Shete. He was also honoured by allowing him to enjoy the rights of umbrella (Chhatri), a torch (divati), lance (neja), slave (nafar), attendants (chakar) and horse. As a president of his own caste council, he used to receive fees for his services. The cases of adultery and lack of male issue (Niputrika) fetched him some money. Nor ordeal (divya) could be performed without his permission. As a member of the village council, he held important position in the activities of the village. It was mentioned in the agreement made with the Shetes that any violation of these practices should be dealt with seriously. The person who disobeys the Shete or becomes unmindful of his rights, was inflicted with either capital punishment or was chained.[22]

The Brahmanas :

The Brahmanas received grants and concessions from the government and also fees from the people for their maintenance. In every village there used to be a Joshi or village astrologer. He was a member of the village **Baluta** system, and the change in political power did not disturb the functioning of the village. He rendered various religious services to his clients and also read 'Panchang' or almanac for them. Almanac reading on the New Years day seems to be an important function in the village as all Brahmanas move in a procession (dindi) with almanac, perhaps placed in a palanquin, on that day.[23]

However, sometimes a point of order was raised as to whom the Joshi should read the **Panchang** first - the Zamindars or the officials of the government. It was a matter of prestige in Chaul. In the year 1701, the Mughal havaldar collected **masala**, a pecuniary imposition, from the Joshis for reading the almanac first to Zamindars. An appeal was made jointly by the Joshis and the Zamindars to the Faujdar that this was an old practice which remained unchanged inspite of the change in political powers. This argument of the Joshis and the Zamindars was accepted by the Faujdar and refunded the masala and the state officials were asked to follow the old practice in this respect.[24] It must be noted here that the village community always considered the **deshsatta** (village authority) as permanent and the diwansatta (Government Authority) as transitory

The Joshis were entitled to charge fees for the religious services rendered by them to the village communities on such occasions as marriage, thread ceremony, installation of Lord Ganesh etc. At one stage the Joshi raised their fees, almost made double against which the people appealed to the Government for restoration of the old

rates. The **majalis** (council) discussed this matter and gave its verdict in favour of the old rates, and it further stated that the Joshis refusing to follow this order would not only be punished but be deprived of their **Vritti** (a religious grant.)[25]

It was customary during this period to donate cows to the Brahmanas. But cattle was a taxable commodity, and hence letter of exemption was issued along with the gift. The Peshwa of Shivaji writes to the Subhedar and other officers of Chaul in 1676, that he had sent sixteen cows that had born once (pot phodis) and of the same quality to be delivered to four brahmanas mentioned in the letter equally as Dharmadaya, a religious grant, and no tax be collected from them.[26] Yesaji Vishnu Bhat Manohar of Chaul, brahman learned in Vedas, was to get one **Khandi** rice every year during his life-time. The Subhedar was also asked to make regular enquiries about the well-being of the **Ved-murti.** He was also given 4 cows which were exempted from taxes.[27]

Chaul had two families of the Joshis - Agarkar and Belavkar. When it came under Kanhoji Angre, he called the Joshis and asked them to reduce to writing the **Vritti** (a maintenance grant) and the privileges enjoyed by them in Chaul. The two Joshi families divided among themselves the various religious services to be rendered to different families and take the necessary fees from them.[28]

The Religion :

Chaul had a mixed population of Hindus, Muslims and Christians. The Muslim rulers followed the policy of religious toleration and did not disturb the Hindus in their religious practices. For instance, there were some 'Sati' stones and temples of Hindus in Chaul which were visited and worshipped by Hindus from various places. The Hindus, in return, wished well of the Muslim rulers who had enjoined the Karkuns, Havaldars and others to follow the policy laid down by Malik Ambar in religious matters.[29]

Coconut-day (Narali-Paurnima) was an important ceremony in Konkan. A big procession was arranged and the coconut was ceremonials throw into the sea. The people of Chaul, traditionally used to go in procession for performing this function to Revdanda, which in the course of time passed into the hands of the Portuguese. The Faujdar of Chaul used to send a message to the Portuguese Captain at Revdanda, that the procession carrying coconut would reach his area soon, and therefore he should direct his ryots to clear the path by cutting trees, bushes etc. The money required for the celebration of the coconut day was raised from the merchants and

ryots, and was spent in such a way that the dignity and prestige of the people of Chaul would be maintained. About 100 to 125 artificial coconut trees decorated with silk tassel were made and presented to certain officers including the Portuguese Captain of Revdanda. He was expected to return the honour with betel-leaves and an inam of rupees five.[30] This practice was discontinued for some time as the Portuguese once killed the messenger of the Mughals carrying the news of the coconut day festival.[31]

The Portuguese menace :

As the Portuguese called 'Phirangis' were quite close to Chaul, bands of free-booters, often carried inroads into Chaul and destroy cultivated lands, burn houses, plunder shops, take away people as slaves, etc. These inroads of the **Phirangis** disturbed cultivation and the ryots, therefore, could not comply with the demands of the state for land revenue. As a result they deserted Chaul and migrated to distant places.[32]

The **Phirangis** had acquired certain lands in Chaul, but they did not pay revenue to the Government.

The Muslim Government of Chaul, however, had forbidden the Portuguese to possess any immovable property. A person selling land to a **Phirangi** had to undergo severe punishment of death. In a dispute regarding the Joshi Vatan of Chaul, it was found during the course of investigation that one of the parties to the dispute - Dada Vartak - violated this order by selling a part of his land to a 'Phirangi' without prior sanction of the Government. His crime was established and was sentenced to death.[33]

The Portuguese cultivated hatred against Maharashtra Dharma i.e. Hindu Dharma and imposed various restrictions on the religious practices of the Hindus. They were forbidden from building temples. Muslims could not build mosques. The presence of a Portuguese officer at every marriage as witness was made compulsory. No Hindu was allowed to perform any religious function at home; if it was defected his house was plundered and he was sent to Goa for a period of two to three years as punishment. No enclosed case for an idol (devhara) kept in house, and offer worship on auspicious days. No platform for Tulsiplant be raised and worshipped in any house. When a person dies leaving behind him his only minor son without any near relations, except his widow, the boy should be converted to Christianity.

When the territory passed into the hands of the Marathas in the 18th century, the residents of Revdanda appealed to Peshwa Bajirao

to undo the work of the Portuguese and enhance the prestige of **Maharashtra Dharma**.[34]

Purification :

To counteract the religious policy of the Portuguese, the Marathas started the movement of purification. However, it seems that people in general were not as yet prepared for such a reform as it involved several social problems. In this respect the petition of the Pathare PanchKalshe community of Konkan, of the year 1735 deserves some attention. It says that in the past, the **phirangis** with a view to increasing their population converted many Maratha families, including a few Pathare Panch Kalse, to their religion. How long they remained Christians is not known, but a few of them later on returned to their original place and occupied houses in a good locality, and started urging the leaders of their community to purify them and readmit them into their original religion and community, for which they were prepared to bear all cost. This request was turned down by the community, but it was entertained by the Maratha government, and the Chhatrapati issued an order for purification. The leaders of the community approached the Chhatrapati and appraised him of the social problems involved in purification. According to them a new convert could be admitted without any difficulty, but where generations had passed, **anuloma** and **pratiloma** types of marriages had taken place where even their names had changed, it would be disgraceful to the community to admit such persons. In medieval times caste-councils (Dnyati satta) were more powerful than the Government. The Government, therefore, could not set aside the views of the leaders of the community and force them to accept polluted people.[35]

A person is polluted even by dining with a person of other religion. But the rules of the caste-council are not strictly observed and served under-hand dealings used to take place. Ramaji Kamat, a resident of Bombay brings a few such cases to the notice of the Desai, DeshKulkarni, Adhikari of Chaul, and urges upon them to enforce strict observance of the rules of the caste, which should not be treated as insignificant as sisamum (tiltulya). A Gosavi in Chaul was readmitting polluted people to Hindu religion, perhaps by accepting some bribes. It was urged that a person should be re-admitted or rejected by a majority vote of the community, and the mischievous Gosavi be punished.[36]

Vethbegar :

Vethbegar or forced labour, an oppressive feudal practice, was

prevailing in this part as well. It was collected either in the form of physical labour or in cash in lieu of labour. But sometimes it was collected in both forms. To get rid of it, some ryots fled to Ravadanda, letting their lands to remain uncultivated.[37] As the Government was more interested in the cultivation, an order was issued that the Vethabegar should be collected according to old practice and people should not suffer on this account.

In the medieval period, possession of fort was regarded as essential for the continuance of the state authority. The Government, therefore, used to requisition the services of the ryots quite often for repairing, fortifying or building forts, without making any payment for the services. The ryots did not bother much about the payment for their services but their lands lying follow as a consequence of this was more annoying to them. The Muslim rulers had exempted them from **Vethbegar** considering cultivation as more important. When Chaul was captured by the Marathas in 1670-71, the old practice of carrying people to the fort **Vethbegar** was revived. A similar appeal was made to the new Government by the ryots, requesting it to abolish the system of **Vethbegar** for the prosperity of this region. The Maratha Government promised them that this system would be abolished as soon as constant fighting ceases and normalcy is restored.[38] Orders were issued that the ryots should not suffer on account of **Vethbegar.**[39]

The services of vadvals (a tribal community) and anadis (unexperts), cultivating the irrigated or non-irrigated lands were frequently exploited for Vethbegar. This caused interruption in cultivation, watering and manuiring to trees and enclosing the orchards. The Maratha Subhedar issued an order in 1685 asking his officers not to make ryots suffer for **Vethbegar**, and allow him to carry his routine agricultural work undisturbed.[40]

Notes & References

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5. Shivcharitra Sahitya, Khand 4, L 692; Banda Daftar, Vol I, L9, Rajwade, Vol 16, p 22.
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31. Avalaskar, op. cit. 2-3, 4, Ibid p. 20.
32. Shivcharitra sahitya vol. 9 p. 10, 13, 19, 23.
33. Ibid. p. 4.
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35. Ibid p. 4.
36. Shivcharitra Sahitya vol. 9, pp 86-88.
37. Ibid p 16.
38. Ibid vol. 9. 71-72.
39. Ibid, p. 63.

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Chapter XI

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The village communities of this period. administratively autonomous and economically self-relient as they were presented a remarkable degree of unity and cohesion which enabled them to acquire an individuality of their own and a sense of belonging to a heterogeneously composed membership. There was a sense of unity arising from comparative isolation of the villages.

A village community had to be self-reliant in matters of defence and rural administration. They had to meet the requirements of their community by themselves, if necessary, by raising public loans. They were all to present a common front in their disputes with neighboring villages.

The village communities has built up an individuality of their own. It is primarily evident in their social set up. The social status in this set up was not related to caste-status hierarchy; in fact it was totally devoid of caste prejudices.

Under the Marathas, the administration of the villages continued as it was since ancient times. The village community was there since ancient times. The village community was the nuclous round which the whole economic and social machinery was built up. The villages were an important unit of administration in the life of the people. Since agriculture was a common calling of almost all the people, the village naturally became the centre of economic activity. The village communities, however, were not all cast in the same mould. They differed in various parts of the country. Generally, there were two types to be found every where the rayatwari and the joint village. In the rayatwari system land was held by different villagers. They were not co-sharers in the unit-estate. While in a joint village all the land became a common property including the adjoining waste lands.[1] The total area of the village consisted of two kinds. One was arable land and the other, land used for habitation.[2] There are different terms by which a village is referred to in the source materials, such as 'Grama', 'Dehe', 'Mouja', 'Khede' etc. The suburbs of the villages were known as 'Naja', 'Wadi', 'Padi', 'Khari' etc. Grama, munja,

dehe and Khede were probably synonymous terms; however, the name mouja was perhaps more popular. If villages were adjacent, the larger of the two was called 'Budruk' while the smaller one was named 'Khurd'.[3] Sometimes as a result of expansion or contraction in the extent of the village, there used to be a change in the nomenclature. If a village grew very large, so much so that part of it was recognised as an administrative unit, it took over the name of the parent village with the suffix' 'Khurd' i.e. small; the original village naturally came to be styled as the great, i.e., 'Budruk' e.g. Nevasa Budruk and Nevasa Khurd.[4] The suburb of a village was generally called 'Majra'. When some families began to reside in their own fields, such habitation used to become Majra. Sometimes, the suburbs took the names of the fields in which they were situated.[5] Wadi, Padi, Kheri and Majra are synonymous terms; the term Wadi was more popular in desh territory while in the Konkan region, Wadi and Padi were popularly used.[6] A village on the coastline was called 'Khari'.[7] The term Khari means in Marathi, salty. A village which grew in a salty land near the coastline came to be called 'Khari'.

When a population mainly consisted of artisans having a mart in the neighborhood was styled as 'Kasba'. In such a Kasba there used to be held a weekly bazaar. Such a place naturally became busy and humming with activity as a result of the bazaar and was referred to as 'Peth'.[8] On some occasions government used to authorise some capable person to establish a Peth in a certain locality, by giving him some land on some conditions, in order to give the residents a facility for purchases in the neighborhood.[9] Port town was commonly known as 'Mira'. There were some permanent residents in the village. They used to discharge administrative and other duties. They belonged to the higher grade among hereditary officers. They held land and received extra earnings from the government. They ware called Deshaks.[10] The Deshaks are different from other government officers like Havalder, Majumder etc.[11] They were appointed as hereditary officers either at Paragana, Kasba, Peth or Village.[12] Documentary evidence shows that the term deshak did not necessarily indicate any particular officer; rather it included any high hereditary officer of the level of Desai or Deshmukh, Deshkulkarni or Deshpande, Patil, Kulkarnki, Shete, Mahajan etc.[13] In some cases the designation Deshak covered only the hereditary officers like Deshmukh, Deshpande, Patil and Kulkarni.[14] There used to be some Deshakas who were exempted from paying land revenue and in lieu thereof they had to serve the state. Such privileged people were known as Vatandars. This was an

age old system in the region. The term Vatan clearly implied that the holder of the Vatan was given tax-free land which was hereditary and which was held by him in perpetual occupation. And in recognition of this privilege the Vatandar obliged to render service to the state in the village. The Patil was originally a government officer who was required to work in co-operation with another officer called Kulkarni; both of them were supposed to collect fixed amountf of land revenue from the village and Kulkarni had to keep the accounts of the payment made by different landholder. It was the duty of the Patil to see that the state dues of the land revenue were correctly collected and paid to the state treasury. Thus the state had no direct contact with the individual landholder. It was Patil who was the link between the state and the individual landholder. Thus the Patil was individually responsible to see that all the state dues were properly collected and it was he who was responsible if there was any deficiency in the stipulated amount of collection.[15] A very large number of villagers paid land revenue. They were called Mirasdars.[16] Mirasdar is an Arabic term meaning hereditary owner. The original designation of the post was Thalkari which in Arabic became Mirasdar. Those who did not own any land of the village were known as a tenants. They had no **locus Standi**, and were called uparis or strangers.

There were others who rendered various services to the villagers. They were called Balutedars. They were given annual payment in the form of agricultural produce for their services. This payment was known as Baluta. The number of Balutedars differ from village to village.[17] There is a document in connection with grant of the office of Kulkarni and Joshi on a person by the Mirasdars and Bulutedars of the village; In this document there is a mention of nearly ten Balutedars with their professional symbols.[18] The exact position of the Balutedars in the Gotsabha has also been specified in this document. The hereditary officers - Mirasdars and Balutedars of the village were empowered to take important decisions jointly on the problems of the village. There were several artisans and professionals included among these Balutedars such as Washermen, Barbers, Mangas, Potters, Mahars, Carpenters, Oil-men, Blacksmiths, Shoe-makers, etc. They were obliged to render honest services to the villagers and their services had to be compensated by annual payments in kind which were regulated by the age old custom.[19] Among the other servants of the village were included the Joshi's, Guravas and Mulanis etc. They had to help the villagers in answering the religious

needs of the villager. They were to be compensated in two ways. One was through the fees paid in kind by the clients and the other was through rent-free land given to them. The Deshaks were not able to cultivate all the lands that were owned by them. So part of the lands was cultivated by others. Such other cultivators were called tenants, who were referred to as Upari. These Uparis used to cultivate the land on payment of rent generally in kind of cash to the owners of the land.[20] Thus Vatandars, Thalkaris, Balutedars and Uparis can be bracketed together as the village community leading a life of mutual co-operation.

There were mainly three kinds of land tenures, by which all village land was held, viz. 'Mirasi' or 'Talavahika, Upari of Sukhavastu and Vatan tenure, i.e. Vatan land held by village officers and artisans, Balutedars. In the Mirasi tenure, the ownership of the land was with the cultivator. The property was hereditary and saleable. The Mirasdar of Talavahika that is, the holder of the Miras land could not be removed from the possession of the land, so long as he continued to pay the land rent he had a right to reclaim it even after a gap of at least thirty years.[21] In 'Upari' tenure, the cultivator had the right to cultivate the land which was not his own, it was held by him by a temporary lease, on terms which were not uniform everywhere. Thus the Upari was just the tenant and not an owner of the land.[22] Accordingly to tradition and legendary account, in respect of the formation of villages, all land was in the beginning Miras land; it was apportioned by the original settlers among themselves. The present Mirasdars are very probably the descendants of those original settlers. The Uparis were introduced as the old proprietors sunk under the tyranny of the Muslim rulers, The fact is that the greater part of the lands cultivated by the Uparis was recorded in the village books as belonging to absent, proprietors,[23] says Elphinston. The third kind of tenure was Vaten tenure, which is described elsewhere in this chapter.

The boundaries of every village were clearly specified and they were carefully maintained by the residents. Lands of the village were divided into fields. The boundaries of the fields were correctly known and preserved. Generally every field had a name and it was not changed even though there was a change in the ownership of the field. In addition to the cultivable land, every village had some waste and fallow lands which were used as common grazing grounds by the villagers. They were known as Gayaran. The way in which settlement of a community was made in a village clearly shows that the entire set-up of the village organisation was land oriented.

Thus the residents of the village were a community of farmers, traders, artisans and administrative officers, who were required to answer their daily needs. In other words there were mainly three classes of people who constituted the village viz. cultivators, the peripheral organisation of the artisans, i.e. Balutedars, and the village officers and traders. And they represented three kinds of the land-tenures, viz. the Mirasi, i.e 'Upari', and included those who held Vatan land viz., the Balutedars and officers like Patil, Deshmukh, Deshpande etc. The cultivators had been divided into two classes viz., the Mirasis or Talavahikas, and Uparis or according to the kind of the land tenure.[25] It has been already stated that the Mirasis were landed proprietors, by virtue of their Miras tenure. They were highly respected in the village assembly which administer justice. They had a dominating voice. The Uparis were allowed to attend the meetings of the assembly but were not allowed to take part in the debate. The term Vatan signified the benefits accredited to a person from an indigenous hereditary office or the office itself.[26] The highest officer of the Pargana like Deshmukh and Deshpande or the village officers like Patil and Kulkarni down to the Baluta, held their office by virtue of their Vatan tenure. Vatan tenure was basically an office tenure. However, most often village officers held 'Inam' (free-land) in lieu of their emolument for their services to the community. Moreover, they had the privilege of some rights and perquisites from the villagers according to the convention in vogue in the locality.[27] The Vatan was hereditary and saleable. The status of all the Vatendars in the village community was not uniform. The village officers and artisans had not identical area of land granted to them as Vatan. It certainly did not depend upon the consideration of the level of the caste but positively upto the titillate value of the person to the villagers who were primarily farmer, whose fundamental interest was agriculture. The holder of Vatan land and Miras land were mainly responsible for the pattern of the village social and economic organisation and administrative machinery.

Even the duties of the village officers under the above dynasties were identical to those of similar officers under the Marathas. In the Maratha period, a village Panchayat consisting of the elders used to try cases and dispense justice at the 'Chawdi' i.e. the office of the village officers. The villagers were held responsible to make good the loss, if a thief was traced to their village. Panchayat[28] in Maratha administration was solely a jury agreed upon by both parties in a dispute and which automatically dissolved when the case was concluded.

As far as petty cases were concerned the parties in the rural areas usually referred the matter to the local judicial officer of the government, who in theory at least settled it at once. But if the case was intricate or if it involved a large sum of money, it was always referred by the Mamlatdar to a Panchayet. It must be mentioned that all wise local officers appear to have referred every case to a Panchayet when no other mode of adjustment seemed likely to satisfy the parties.

The most common method of constituting a Panchayet was to ask the parties to name a certain number of persons, and appoint a government Karkun to superintend the proceedings. Government had the right of sanction and confirmation to ensure (at least in theory) that those who sat on the Panchayet were "the most respectable people, and men of good sense and probity." There were no set regulations as to how a Panchayet was to proceed beyond the general observance of the rules of the shastras and the established customs of the country. As a general rule, every litigants' Panchayet was composed of persons of his own caste, trade or situation and no caste was barred or exempted.

Village Panchayets were always assembled by the Patil of the village, under special instruction from the Mamlatdar, the Patil had no actual judicial authority. The membership to a Panchayet was open to all except the regular out-castes. Patils were frequently members. The tendency was to select men who were reasonably well acquainted with life and who understand human nature well. Once the Panchayet was assembled the umpire of president was nominated by the local government officer. If the government was involved in the case then all the members were usually selected officially. If a party to a case refused this mode of settling the dispute, government would compel the party to abide by the decision of the Panchayet.

A Panchayet was not considered fair unless the parties concerned were allowed to challenge members as well as to appoint or approve of them, such right of challenge being even extended to the first half of the actual proceedings. There is nothing on record to show that corrupt members were either fined or punished. Mr. Chaplin was of opinion "that corruption was not considered criminal but was at best a venial fault for which in practice, no punishment was inflicted."

The actual conduct of the hearing was based on very simple and commonsense lines : The plaintiff stated his case, then the defendant's side of the question was taken down, and the witnesses on both sides examined, whilst later on the substance of the evidence, the arguments used, and the decision and reasons for the verdict were

all fully detailed. All documents and vouchers were copied down, and every member of the Panchayet signed the completed case. The cross-examination was conducted by the Karkuns, and since very few questions were asked, the taking of evidence was not laborious, the confession or statement of the defendant and the prosecutor being the main guide to the Panchayet.

Appeals against the award of the Panchayets were allowed. The general course of proceeding was for the appellant to make an official application for revision, which was subject to any penalty the government thought fit to impose, either by enhancement of the sentence or fine as a punishment for frivolous objection, unjust appeals being always dealt with severely. When an appeal was made a new Panchayet was appointed. Sentence was not suspended nor was any compensation given if the award was reversed. There do not seem to be any instances of an appeal against the decision of an appellate Panchayet nor any higher court of appeal unless perhaps the Ministers at Poona could be approached and persuaded to intervene.

In the village, the judgement was enforced by the Patil. The successful received the award. The person who lost the case seldom gave any opposition for fear of personal violence. The award was executed by the party who won the case.

There were no fixed fees in connection with membership on the Panchayet. But members took money from both the parties, which, if given in a just cause, was allowed. But in all cases the expenses of the members were paid, usually by the losing party. The Government stood to gain both from the plaintiff and the defendant. The party which won, paid hurkee (or joy money) while the loser paid a fine called gonhagaree. In petty cases, the government took nothing; but when a large estate was involved the complainant, on filing a suit, paid a Nazarana, which was about one quarter of the value of the whole property. One outstanding feature of the old system was the complete absence of pleaders.

Panchayet was often consulted by the government officials to help them not only as witnesses to the original statement of the accused but also for suggesting as to the name of the perpetrator of the crime of his whereabouts. Similarly Patils also sought the advice of an unofficial Panchayet, not on the question of the sentence but on the tracing of the crime and the fixing of the guilt, the activity of the Panchayet and the police was an excellent check on unsociable conduct. At certain times social crimes like drunkenness, adultery etc. were tried by a synod of brahmins (Wootura Sabha), the powers

of which were superior to those of the highest high priest (Acharya). When caste Panchayet came to a decision on a criminal case no confirmation of their judgement was necessary. It was the wide power of the caste which was undoubtedly responsible for the keeping down of the social crimes. There was a public morality which survived all the evils of the time and kept ordinary crime down to minimum.

Elphinstone and all his co-workers were deeply impressed with the Panchayet system in the Bombay Deccan and Konkan. There was not the slightest doubt that in theory the Panchayet method of settling disputes in rural areas was far superior to the ordinary courts of justice. The system had considerable abuses but with the introduction of some reforms Elphinstone saw that this democratic approach to justice, practised since time immemorial, was continued in the conquered territories of the Peshwa. All crimes, from murder to petty quarrels over a few rupees, loan came under the jurisdiction of the Panchayet, of which it was officially said by British administrators, the only semblance of justice in the Maratha Empire was obtained by Panchayets, for without them there was no justice at all, either for rich or poor, not for important or trivial cases.

The Panchayet system also contained in it the germ of modern popular suffrage.

In theory, and very often in practice as well, nothing could have been more simple than the procedure of the Panchayet, which showed how eminently suitable it was for the illiterate villagers of the rural areas.

There is ample evidence to show that their popularity rested on the great fairness which almost universally marked their decisions.

Another remarkable asset of the Panchayet system was its adaptability. It could be used for any and every kind of case whether civil or criminal whether simple or complicated. Similar system of justice had prevailed even under the Yadavas, Kaktiyas and Chalukyas. This shows that the Muslims who ruled the Deccan between the Yadav period and the Maratha period had little impact on the prevailing organisation of village communities or the agrarian system. Their effect can be however seen from the number of Arabic and Persian words, **or words claiming Arabic or Persian**, which were used in the official terminology of the succeeding regime, e.g. the persain deha, Arabic mauza and Kasha meaning village, were freely used in the Maratha period. In the same way 'Moqaddam' i.e. the term implying village head, and the word 'Miras' and 'Vatan' meaning land tenures are Arabic. Similarly, the term 'Raiyat' meaning

peasants, came to be used in the Muslim rule. However, the impact of the Muslim rule was only in the terminology respecting the village administration. They did not introduce any new institution much less did they make any special effort to alter the existing institution of the village community. Moreover, the fundamental interest which weighed heavily with the Muslim rulers was to collect revenue without any resistance. This mainly depended on the co-operation of the village head man. The post of the village head man being thus kept in tact, there was no change in the fundamental set-up of the village organisation, of which the village head man was a part.[29] Economic self-reliance and self-government were outstanding features of the village organisation, e.g. the township of village Loni was governed by its own laws and usages and was in a great measure independent of all with out interference of government. It protected itself externally and kept peace and order internally, says Coats.[30]

The cultivators, traders, artisans and the administrative officials conducted all the functions which answered the economic religious, social and political needs of all the inhabitants of the village. The artisans and administrative officials were granted Vatan lands. The cultivating classes proved to be the foundations of the super-structure of the social, political and cultural autonomy of the village community. Let us now take a general view of the Vatan system.

Vatandars : Vatan was a grant or land made by the state to a person who held a certain office and discharge duties of the state. It continues in his family so long as the services were rendered efficiently to the state by the members of the family and the family continues to remain loyal to the state. The land itself was called a Vatandar. The system of Vatan tenure is traceable to the Muslim rulers of the Deccan. The term Vatan in an Arabic word. The Vatandar was paid some times in cash and kind. The Vatandar reclaimed this remuneration from the villagers as a matter of right. It has been referred to as rights and dues i.e. Haklajima had state recognition and they were included even in Vatan-deeds.[31] In fact Vatandars were maintained by the village. The villagers used to pay them for their services. They were permanent officials of the village, their services being indispensable for the smooth working of the village administration. The position of the Vatandar was in no way effected as a result of a change of rulers.[32] This can be verified from the fact that the Vatandars who were serving under the Muslim rulers, continued to enjoy the same privileges even under Shivaji, who annexed Muslim territories to his kingdom.[33] In addition to the duty of collecting land revenue and encouraging

agriculture, the Vatandars were entrusted with various other duties such as deciding petty local disputes in the village community council i.e. Panchayat taking a leading part in village festivals and ceremonies, attending to colonization and habitation area. A Vatan had various implication as well as an index to social prestige and dignity. People were prepared even to sacrifice a higher position in career for the possession of Vatan. In view of his meritorious services Shivaji desired to include Balaji Avaji Prabhu in his "Astapradhan. However, he expressed his earnestness to continue his Chitnis Vatan in his family throughout Shivaji's kingdom. Such was the attraction of a Vatan to a Maratha.[34] Even Shivaji himself in his early career felt elated in being styled as Vatandar. In fact the Marathas attached too much of importantance to the Vatan system. Kudal, Rajapur, Kole, Dabhol, Poone, Javli, Kalyan, Supa and Bhivandi were considered by Shivaji as his Vatan lands. And he had such fascination for the income coming from the Vatan lands that just two years prior to his coronation he had asked his officials to maintain a separate account of his personal income arising from the above Vatan lands. He had ordered his officers to see that the income from the above Vatans must on no account be used for administrative purpose of the state but it should be spent for the protection of the cultivators under his Vatan jurisdiction against the raids of the enemies.[35] Since the right of Vatan has come to acquire undue importance in the social parlance, it was most natural that claims and counter-claims to Vatans gave rise to unnecessary litigation, feuds, conspiracies, violence, deceptions, even to murder.[36] The fundamental object which justified the grant of Vatan aimed at bringing about efficiency in the state administration. The immediate result was, that the power of the state was decentralized, since the work of managing and deciding several issues on the spot, was easily possible under the Vatan system; naturally, a reference to central government for help and assistance became unnecessary. Thus it can be said that "a well regulated 'Vatan' system was a pre-requisite to the stability and prosperity of the state."[37] In the days of Shivaji some changes in the Vatan system were introduced by him with a view to removing some of the abuses that had crept into the Vatan system. He had realised that under the proceeding regime, Vatandars received more respectful attention from the cultivators than was received by the king. It had become a practice in the past that the right of collecting land revenue was entrusted to the Vatandars. Thus the Vatandars had an opportunity to appropriate a major part of the revenue collected, crediting a nominal about to the treasury. In some cases, the Vatandars,

extracted excess amount of revenue than was stipulated by the state thereby swelling his personal resources. The result was that the Vatandars commanded a dominating voice in the affairs of the state. With surplus assets at their disposal, it was no wonder that the Vatandars could afford to construct big mansions and forts and take into the employ footmen and musketeers.[38] They did not fear to trigle with the state officials; thereby becoming a source of nuisance to the state. In case, the officers of the state asked for a part of the excess revenue collection made by them from the cultivators, they would point blank refuse to do so, and offered resistance.[39] Under Shivaji, their fortifications were dismantled and Shivaji's officers were appointed at such forts. They were forced to live in houses of the kind used by cultivators. Their ill-gotten gain were confiscated. The state fixed the perquisites of the village and Paragana official.[40] The result was that the cultivators were unable to come into contact with the king by passing the Vatandar. The power and growing importance of Vatandars was reduced and the system was made more useful in favour of the cultivators. Vatans which were discontinued were restored to the Vatandars, new Vatan wherever they were justified and in cases in which Inams were previously granted were confirmed.[41] Such of the Vatandars who refused to co-operate with him were severely dealt with.[42] The hereditary officers duties and their right and perquisites were multifarious and they were enjoyed by them with the consent and co-operation of the village communities. The Principal officers who were connected with the village administration and were therefore, made Vatandars were as follows : Patil, Kulkarni, Deshmukh, Deshpande and Chaugula.

Patil :

The village headman was the principal official of the village and has been referred to in different names such as Patil, Gavpatil, Mukadam, or Mokddam-Patil in the Marathi sources and as Gramagopaka in the Rajyavyaharkosh.[43] He held his office by a grant from the government called Vattanpatra specifying his duties, his rank, rights, perquisites and the portion of the free hold land he was entitled to by virtue of his Vatan or office. The office was so respectable that it was scarcely sold except in cases of dire necessity. Under trying circumstances, a part of the Vatan used to be sold, in such an event all care was taken to retain to oneself a seniority right known as 'Vadilpanachi taxim'.[44] In such a case the rights and duties of the Patil were also divided. However, the one holding the seniority share only acted as the chief. He was endowed with the distinguishing

title of Mokadam and was entitled to enjoy certain exclusive privileges attached to his Vatan. The office insignia of the Patil was the plough. it shows his duties in connection with the land. In every official paper this insignia of Patil appeared against his name.[45] One of his fundamental obligations was to bring all idle land under the plough and to make it fruit-bearing.[46] Even in the days of Shivaji, Dadoji Kondadev had offered to some people a Vatan of Patil on condition that they should colonize the barren lands which formed a part of Shivaji's jagir.[47]

Before the revenue of the village was fixed the Karkun had to consult the Patil. It was the Patil who was supposed to make an estimate of the crop every year. With the help of the Kulkarni and then negotiate with the Karkun on behalf of the village. To request the government to grant remission in revenue, was one of the duties of the Patil.[48] It was the duty of the Patil to represent the view of the cultivators to the government regarding the fixation of the land revenue. The Patil was responsible for keeping the government fully posted with the correct and detailed information in respect of the land holding in the village crops grown and revenue realised.[49] He was responsible for the revenue of the village. He used to undertake the responsibility of paying to the state a stipulated amount of revenue for the village. In case there was any shortage of collection, it was the Patil who had to suffer.[50] There was a case in which a Patil had to mortgage his hereditary office of Patil and borrow Rs. 350 from a creditor. He had to do so in order to make good the shortage of the stipulated amount of the land revenue.[51] This was because, in order to save the trouble of collecting land revenue from the individuals cultivators, government had rewarded the Patil with rent-free land. In some cases on behalf of the villagers the Patil used to stand security. In return, for this kind of co-operation from the Patil, the villagers used to reward him by making some customary payments. The Patil was a respectable member of the village council. The meetings of the village Panchayet Gotsabha[52] used to be conducted by him. And for the completion of any judicial decrees his signature was most essential.[53] To maintain peace[54] and order in the village was one of the duty of the Patil. In case the villagers abandoned the village on account of warfare, droughts etc. It was the duty of the Patil to make special a endeavours to induce the cultivators to return to their village and to undertake cultivation by procuring for them from the state a 'Kaul' (An agreement) and 'Tagai' (advance) from the Mamlatdar etc.[55] In some cases, at the beginnings of the rainy season, the

Mamlatdar with Patil and Kulkarni moved into the district and settled with the Patil revenue for the season. It was then for the Patil to settle with the ryots the share which each one of them was to bear. At the time of payment the Mahar summoned the ryots who had given their rent to the Patil in the presence of the Potedar who assayed and stamped the money, and Kulkarni who granted a receipt. In some cases when it was necessary, the Patil could get the assistance of 'Shibandi' in the work of revenue collection. It was then the duty of the Patil to send all the collection to the Mamlatdar under the charge of the Chougula and the Mahar and obtain a receipt of the amount sent.[56]

The Patil was entrusted with magisterial duties also. He had to handle minor offences, in his capacity as a primary judicial authority. It was his duty to redress the grievances of the cultivators and settle the disputes of the villagers. It was one of his powers to punish the offender in small matters even by stripes or reproof. However, he had no authority to make fines. In the cases of offercesed serious nature, the litigation had to be referred to the government.[57] In his capacity as a judicial authority the duties discharged by the Patil, were rather that or an arbitrator then a judge. It was his duty to bring about a settlement among the disputes.

The post of the Patil was held by the Marathas as well as by the Brahmans. This was because a Patilki Vatan was to be purchased or obtained from the King.[58] A patil was an indispensable official for the peaceful administration of a village. Even 'Tukaram' avers that "nobody who incurred his (patilki) wrath could continue to stay in the village.[59]

In a Vatan deed there appears description of the 'Haks' i.e. Privileges and 'Lajimas' i.e. dues of the Vatandars. 'Haks' are things which a Vatandar gets as a matter of right, while 'Lajimas' have no legal sanction behind them; they are generally optional. Any new changes can be made in them by revising the deed.[60] The Patil's privileges are called the privileges of the plough.[61] These privileges were not uniform in all places and in all times. Moreover, the Patil used to receive for this services, some payment in cash or in kind, from the cultivators; this was in addition to his Vatan estate In general, the share of the Patil in these payment was determined by the government.[62] The rights and perquisites available to the Patil have been stated below :

The rights and perquisites :

The rights and perquisites[63] of Patil can be divided into Manpan, receipts in cash, receipts in kind and services.

Manpan :

In the village, different religious ceremonies like Pola, Diwali, Dasara, Ganesh Chaturthi, Holi, Shiralshet, Tulsipuja were performed. As the prominent person in the village the Patils enjoyed Manpan, that is, priority rights, in the Pola and Ganesh ceremonies, processions of Bullocks and the idol of Ganesh were to be taken first by the Patil. The music or the band at the time of Diwali and Dasara to be played first in front of the Patil's house. On the Diwali day the Balutedars made **Ovalane** to the Patil first and then to the other persons of the village. The women in the Patil's family had seniority right in the Nagpanchami festival. The Apta was to be first worshipped by the Patil on the Dasara day. The Brahmin was to conduct the Tulsi puja at the Patil's house and then at other houses. The Patil was to put Holi on fire and present it with a Poli (cake), followed by others. The Brahmin was to tell the **Panchang** first to the Patil.

Receipts in cash :

The Patil used to collect one rupee and a quarter for every remarriage celebrated in the village. When marriage was celebrated outside the village and the bridegroom returned with the bride to the village, the Patil was to collect a rupee and a quarter with a Shela from the bridegroom. It appears that the Patil used to collect a tax on new comers (Bahejema) in the village, amounting to rupees twenty five per year. The peshwa government in 1778 issued an order to the Patil of Kasba Sangamner that he should not collect **Sharwanpati** and **Nachpati**. He was also ordered to receive amounts on marriage and remarriage according to custom. An amount of ten lakhs was received by the Patil on account of **Inampati**.

Receipts in Kind :

The Patil used to receive certain commodities daily and annually. Patil was to get daily thirteen betel leaves, betel nuts and some amount of edible oil. He was to collect a pair of shoes from the shoemaker, turban from the Momin and a Chavale from a Dhangar every year. The Dhangar was to give one goat from his herd to the Patil on the Dasara day. The Patil was also entitled to receive twenty five bundles of Jowar sticks from the cultivators of Jowar, twenty five Sugarcanes, Sugarcane juice and Jaggery from the cultivator of Sugarcane with exception of Joshi. He was also to receive five seers of cotton from each field and green folder. Patil had some rights of collection from the shops in the village. He was to get a quarter of seer of Jaggery, salt and a betel nut from the grocer's shop. On occasion of marriage ceremony the Patil was to receive half a coconut with betel leaves as his manpan.

Services :

The services of Mahar were made available to the Patil. The Mahar was to supply a bundle of firewood to the Patil. Mahar was also to clean the house of Patil on the occasion of a ceremony. The Koli was to supply water to the Patil's house. And Mali Gurav were to bring flowers and **vavri** to the Patil's house.

The Patil, thus, enjoyed manpan, receipts in cash, in kind and services. These rights and perquisites could be misused by a Patil. The Peshwa Government ordered such a Patil that he should collect commodities in accordance with the custom. The government also ordered that the Patil should pay the price of betel leaves collected in the month of **Sharvan** to the Tamboli.[64]

Kulkarni :

In the contemporary records Kulkarni has been called as Gaonkulkarni.[65] Alongwith Patil, Kulkarni was an important person who had duties and rights in the village. Documents like the sale-deed, mortgage-deed and Kowlnamas regarding the Vatans in the village were to be written by the Kulkarni.[66] While writing these documents. The Patil was to be given the information and the Patil probably attended the meeting when the documents were written. The Patil was also to take Kulkarni in confidence in the administration of the village. The collection of the revenue and the expenditure on account of village were to be done by the Patil and Kulkarni unitedly.[67] The Kulkarni was to write the complaints made by the parties to a dispute. He was to get some amount of money as his fees. As has been already noted, the Patil and Kulkarni were held responsible for the collection of revenue in the village. In case they failed, they were sometimes kept under confinement till the payment of amount on account of revenue is received.[68] As Patil and Kulkarni were held responsible for the collection of revenue, it was laid down in a **yadi**[69] that after deducting the government dues and miscellaneous expenditures in the village the remaining amount was to be shared by Patil and Kulkarni.

The Rights and Perquisites of Kulkarni :

The Kulkarni was to receive governmental presents like Tila, Vida and Sirpav.[70] The Kulkarni was to receive Sir Pav after the Patil. During the festivals like Dasara and Diwali the music was played in front of Kulkarnki's after being played in front of Patil's house. He was also given by the government house for his personal use and as servant quarters. The government also exempted Jakat and Singoti when the Kulkarni purchased for the use of his family a batik, a horse,

a bullock and a buffalo. Similarly, the Kulkarni was exempted from the Jakat to be paid on the wood that the Kulkarni brought from the jungle.[71]

The Kulkarni received as his right some amount of money as already noted.[72] He was to share a balance of revenue after paying the government due and the miscellaneous expenditure. In another document of the year 1752 it has been laid down that the Kulkarni was to collect two per cent of the total revenue collected.[73] The Kulkarni received four rukas each from the Agaravadi and Pachimvadi to write their complaints which were put before the village council, for their consideration and decision.[74] The Kulkarni was to collect one ruka every week from the butcher. He was to get one Adki from the **Pandhari** for every eight days.[75] As the Kulkarni had to purchase paper, he was given takas twelve out of the revenue collected to purchase paper and ink.[76] The Kulkarni had some rights in the Peth. For writing the sale-deed of animals like bullock and buffalo the Kulkarni was given some amount of money for his services.[77] The Kulkarni was to get the different articles from the Balutedars.[78] He was to get a pair of shoes from the Shoemaker, two Chavalas from the Dhangar, a Dhoti and cloth from **Koshti, Sali** and Devan. He was also to get a turban from the Momin. Kulkarni got nine takes of oil every eight days from each shop of oil presser. In some villages the Kularni could collect one ser of oil every month and half a maund of oilcake every year from the shop of oil presser. The Sutar was to give one wooden plough to the Kulkarni. In the Peth[79] the Kulkarni received thirteen betel leaves from each betel leave's shop and twenty five betel leaves from the owner of each animal that was brought to the market for sale. When Rice, Dal and Salt were purchased in the Peth,[80] Kulkarni was to be given **Kavadi** per sack. Similarly, if the articles came to the Peth the Kulkarni was to get betel leaves and betel nut. Whenever vegetables and fruits came to the market for sale the Kulkarni was to take a part of it according to the quantity of the commodities. The Kulkarni was also to collect some amount of sugarcane and mango from the cultivators. Five bananas from ox-load and one banana from the headload was collected by the Kulkarni, when bananas came to the market for sale. Similarly, some amount of Jaggery coming for sale was collected by Kulkarni. Kulkarni was to receive some share of agricultural produce that came to the market as a sample. On the four important festivals like Diwali, Dasara, Holi and Bhavi the Kulkarni was to receive nine takas of oil from each shop of the each shop of the oil presser. Similarly, from the Tamboli

twenty five betel leaves were collected by Kulkarni on these four festivals.

Notes & References

1. Baden-powell - **Indian Village Communities**, 6, 20-21.
2. This has been classified as 'Kali' and 'Pandhari' in Marathi sources (Atre T, N. Gavgada, p. 1; **Shiv Charitra** sahitya, 8:26).
3. Rajwade (ed.)- Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane, XV : 274; Accorinbg to Goddine, "Where two brothers or share holders could not agree, they were sometimes allowed to divide the village between them and separate; this explains the term Budruk, i.e. less"; Goddine, op. cit., p. 7.
4. 'Budruk' and 'Khurd' are equivalent to 'Brihat' and 'Laghu' which are original sanskrit words.
5. Marathyanchya Itihasachee Sadhane, XV : 274.
6. Selections from Peshva Dafter, vol. 31 : 41
7. Shiva Charitra sahitya, S:876.
8. Duff-History of the Mahrattas, vol. I, p 28.
9. Marathyanchya Itihasachee sadhane, XX, 107.
10. Kulkarni A. R. - Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji, p.26.
11. Shiva Charitra sahitya, 4:699.
12. Marathyanchya Itihasachee sadhane, XVI : 56.
13. Shiv Charitra sahitya, 2:346: 4:699; 5:959;
14. Shiv Charitra sahitya, 9:8, 34, 40.
15. Marathyanchya Itihasachee sadhane, XVIII: 27; Joshi, S. N.- Marathe kalin samaj Darshan, p. 9.
16. Shiv Charitra sahitya, 4:692.
17. Shiv Charitra sahitya, 4:692; Bavda Dafter, 1:9, Marathyachya Itihasachee sadhane, XVI, p.22.
18. Shiv Charitra sahitya, 3:426.
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22. Ibid. Appendix, V
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25. Gune - The Judicial system of the Marathas, pp 60-63.
26. Ibid., pp 51-52.
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28. Information regarding Panchayet given here is based on the elaborate questionnaire sent out by M. Elphinstone in 1819 to the several collectors in the Bombay Deccan and their replies printed in the India House Records, Vol. II.
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31. Ibid. p. 182.
32. Marathyanchya Itihasachee sadhane, XX, 10:237: and XXI, 2:3; Shiva Charitra Sahitya, 1:39;
33. Ibid. 3:584.
34. Shivakalin Patrasar Sangraha, 2:1654.
35. Marathyanchya Itihasachee Sadhane, VIII:21.
36. Marathyanchya Itihasachee Sadhane, XV:279 & XVI:2,3,4,19; Shivakalin Patrasar Sangraha I:515 & III:2448,2598.
37. Kulkarni, A.R. - Maharashtra in the age of Shivaji, pp 29-30.
38. Kulkarni A. R. - Op. cit. p. 30.
39. Sabhasad - Shiva Chatrapatinche Charitra, p. 27 (ed); Joshi S. N., Chitrashala press, Poona, 1960.
40. Sabhasad - Op. Cit. pp. 26-27.
41. Shiva Charitra Sahitya, 3:426; Marathyanchya Itihasachee Sadhane, VIII:30: XVII,10,17; Shivakalin Patrasar Sangraha, 3:2739; Selections from the Peshwa Dafter, 31:18.
42. Selections from the Peshwa Dafter, 31:38; Marathyanchya Itihasachee Sadhane, XXXI:6, Shiv Charitra Sahitya 6:114.
43. Shiva Charitra Sahitya, 1:49, 55; 2:93.
44. Marathyanchya Itihasachee Sadhane, XVV : 378. Rajya Vyavaharkosh, 9:332.
45. Shiva Charitra Sahitya, 2:292; 4:721.
46. Raj Vyavahar Kosh 9:52: (Shiva Chatritra Pradip, B.I.S.M., Poona, 1925). pp.170-173.
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52. Shiva Chatra Sahitya. 3:567.
53. Ibid. 1:26.

54. Of. Wilson, Glossary, p. 407 : The headman of the village who has the general control of management of the village affairs is head of the police and exercise, to a limited extent, the function of a magistrate.
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56. Elphinstone - Report on the 'Territories conquered from the Peshwa, pp. 25-27.
57. Peshwas Diary, Vol. I, NO. 301, Vad-Sanads and Letters, p.61.
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61. Selections from the Peshwa Dafter, 31:32.
62. Marathyanchya Itihasachee Sadhane, VXII:20.
63. PD, I, pp. 146-151. Ibid., III, 522, Ibid, VI,817, SBD 31, 154.
64. PD, VI, 817.
65. PD, III, 4.
66. BISM, 24, p. 117.
67. Ibid.
68. BISM, 24, p. 117.
69. PD, I, pp. 146-151, SPD 31, 154.
70. PD, III, 4; BISM, 3rd Sammelan Vritta, pp 139-40.
71. PD, III, 4.
72. BISM, 3rd Sammelan Vritta, p. 139 - 40.
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Chapter XII

SOCIAL STRUCTURE BASED ON CASTE

The Konkan is divided into three districts. Ratnagiri, area 3789 sq. miles, Kolaba, 1482 sq. Miles and Thana 4,052 sq. miles.

In Thana, Kolaba and to a great extent in Ratnagiri, the Castes, which follow a particular calling, are with the exception of certain local peculiarities almost the same.

The whole set of people in Konkan has been divided into hundreds of smaller groups **Jat** in Indian languages and caste's by Western enthropologist's.

Konkan like the rest of India was an agricultural society made up of the following sets (1) about 70 percent people engaged in food procuring, (2) about 8 percent priests, (3) about the same percentage feudal lords, (4) 10 to 12 percent artisans, (5) 4 percent traders, (6) a few entertainers and (7) a sprinkling of people not adjusted to the agricultural community. This is the picture of Konkan as it existed around the beginning of 16th century.

The society in Konkan was honeycombed with the castes, sub-castes, and its sub-divisions with the result that it was very difficult to remove or at least to minimize the differences between them. The primary interest, being historical, the attempt here is to depict the caste system as it emerged from the thoughts and action of the people themselves as reflected in the documents of the times that have survived and come down to us. Castes came to be organised into a close social units with fixed social cum-ritual status which governed the nature and extent of inter-caste relationships.

A person's caste was determined by birth. A person could not escape the rules and regulation of the caste in which he was born. These rules were more binding than any ethical code. A scrupulous observance of this code was demanded of a person by his community in matters of caste. Geographical barriers made no difference to this code as custom prescribed it. This code in short, defined for a person the field of his social, economic and religious activities. There was a close association between caste and occupation. No caste would allow its members to follow any callings which was degrading or "impure."

[2] Restrictions put by other castes which did not allow members other than those of their own to follow their calling also acted as a restraint on the choice of one's occupation.[3] The economic factor was at the root of the whole thing. Caste consideration apart, members of a caste would naturally react when their occupation was encroached upon and their economic interests were jeopardized by members of another caste.

In order to understand how the free choice of occupation could affect the economic harmony of the community and why it was considered as an encroachment, it is necessary to glance at the economic organisation of the village community. It is necessary to discuss here the nature of the Balute system prevalent in Konkan.

In the period three lists of the Balutedars were found in the published Marathi sources. The names of the Balutedars vary from list to list. In the list of 1765[4] mention has been made of eleven Balutedars, namely, Sutar (carpenter), Nhavi (barber), Chambhar (shoe-maker), Gurav (a caste among the shudras), Kumbhar (potter), Parit (washerman), Vani (baniya), Dombar (a low caste), Sonar (goldsmith), Dhangar (shepherd) and Teli (oil presser). Another document of the year 1799[5] gives the names of twelve Balutedars. This document, moreover, tells us about the gradation among the Balutedars. It is mentioned that Sutar, Chambhar, Mang and Mahar belong to the senior grade, while Kumbhar, Nhavi, Parit and Lohar constituted the second grade. In the third grade the names of Joshi, Gurav, Sonar and Mulani are mentioned. In a yadi of the year 1818[6] the names of Parit, Atar, Halakkhor, Manyer, Pansare, Lohar, Chambhar, Mang, Mahar, Gurav, Shimpi, Burud and Vani mentioned. These are thirteen in number. In an unpublished document mention has been made of ten Balutedars viz. Sutar, Parit, Kumbhar, Hajum (Nhavi), Chambhar, Gurav, Lohar, Mahar, Mang and Koli.[7] Thus, the number of Balutedars seems to vary from ten to thirteen and in the abovementioned three lists the names of Chambhar and Gurav are common.

Sutar :

The carpenter (sutar) was regarded the senior most Balutedar. In letter written in 1799, Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao pointed out that the seniority of the carpenter should be maintained throughout the country. In view of this seniority one rupee was to be taken as **Nazar** by the government from the Sutar. The services of the Sutar in the construction of the houses and agricultural implements were significant for the cultivators. The peasants used the plough which

was prepared by Sutar.[8] Sutar was to be given grain for the making of plough. Similarly for the supply of crusher for sugarcane, the Sutar was to be given Sugarcane, Jaggery and grain, in addition to cash. Similarly, the Sutar was to construct the carriage of the bullock. The Sutar, in return was to be given oil on the Pola day.[9]

Chambhar :

The main occupation of the Chambhar was leather work. The farmer needed the services of the Chambhar for the preparation and repair of the mot (which was a bucket of bullock draw-well).[10] The bullocks were fastened to the bullock-cart with the help of leather artifice. The crusher of sugarcane was moved with the help of the bullock. The services of the Chambhar in the preparing the necessary leather material were, therefore, essential. During the crushing of the sugarcane the Chambhar was, therefore, to be paid five sugarcanes and five pieces of Jaggery. From an unpublished yadi it seems that the Chambhar received the highest remuneration among the Balutedars; it was taka nine and a quarter.

Mang and Mahar :

The Mahars and Mangs were the untouchable castes but as their services in the village community were regarded as important, they were included in the first grade of Balutedars along with Sutar and Chambhar.[12] The duties of the Mahar have been recorded by Elphinstone in his report. The most important revenue duty of the Mahar was to watch over the boundaries, both of the village lands and of each individual field, to see that they were not encroached on, to give evidence in cases where there were disputes. He watched over crops, whether cut or growing as long as they were in the fields.[13] In addition to the duties of Mahar as mentioned by Elephinstone, the other duties of the Mahar in the agrarian system are to be found in contemporary documents. The services of the Mahar were used in the production of the Jaggary from sugarcane juice. The **chulwan**, that is, the fire place to boil the juice of sugarcane, was under the charge of Mahar. The Mahar was to be given ten sugarcanes every day for his services in the sugarcane press. At the time of harvest the Mahar was also given three bundles of the straw with grains. The proper disposal of the dead cattle was an important function for the public health in the village. It was the duty of Mahar to dispose off the dead cattle was an important function for the public health in the village. It was the duty of Mahar to dispose off the dead cattle. The hide of the dead cattle were taken by the Mahar. It appears that they did not take the hide of the plough-bullocks.[14] If a Mahar failed to serve the village, he was made to pay a small amount as fine.[15]

Caste Organisation :

CASTES had jurisdiction mainly over matters involving violation of caste-rules regarding inter dining, matrimonial alliances re-admission to the caste and so on. Each caste, spreading as it did over a wide region of the country, was organised into small regional units with chiefs at their head. The caste heads were variously styled as Patil, Moqadam and Mehara. The post of the headman appears to be hereditary. The head of castes i.e. Patils were entitled to certain rights and perquisites from their castemen.

Caste and Social privileges :

Apart from the distinctions of rank faster by the institution of caste, we find that the high castes expropriated to themselves certain privileges from which others were exclude. The study of the scriptures, learning in theology, were almost a monopoly of the Brahmans in Konkan as it was else where in India. Dubois writes that the Brahmans were very jealous of their rights to read the vedic texts, the Holy scriptures and expulsion from caste, "without the smallest hope of re-entering it, would be the highest punishment for a Brahman who exposed these books to the eyes of the profane."[16] Alexander Dow, Buchanan and Bolts state that the Brahman scholars would not part with or disclose the contents of the sacred books in their possession to other caste people.[17]

On this point the testimoney of William Henry Tone, who commanded a regiment of infantry under the Peshwas, is interesting. "I cannot forbear observing that it is generally believed that the Brahmans have an insurmountable dislike to revealing the misteries of their religion. I will not presume to say that is not true, but can only declare that I have never discovered any such backwardness in the Brahmans whom I have had an opportunity of conversing with.[18] It can be said that higher religious learning was a monopoly of the Brahmans. The customs prevalent at that time had banned higher religious learning to the lower classes. The Brahmans as a priestly community were also entitled to other privileges, such as gifts and charities in the name of religion and leniency in punishments, "It is an essential part of the religion of the Hindus, says James Mill "to confer gifts upon the Brahmans. This is a precept more frequently repeated than any other in the sacred books. Gifts to the Brahmans form always an important and essential part of expiation and sacrifice." [19] The murder of a Brahman, was considered the greatest of all known crimes absolutely unpardonable. Under the Maratha Governments, they were exempt from taxes and various other levies,

and certain punishments. The people of the low castes were often obliged to work gratuitously for them. Bad faith towards them either by society or government was devilry. In a sense they were above the common law of the country. In the year 1701, Muslim Havaldar of Chaul inflicted a fine on Brahman Joshi and Upadye who did not recite panchang and forecast of the year in his house on the 1st day of 1st month of 'Shalivahan' era. It was customary for Joshi and Upadyaya of Chaul to recite panchang at Jamindars' house in the first instance. This was pointed out by them when they file a suite against the fine inflicted on them. So they were exempted from paying the fine judgement.[20] In 1735, Shahu warned the Sawant of Sawantwadi in Konkan by saying that it was not Maharashtra Dharma to keep in confinement the wife (कबिला) of a Brahmin.[21] Eiphinstone reports that under the Poona Government a great distinction was made on account of caste in the award of punishments. "A man of tolerable caste was seldom put to death except for offences against the state". Even when they were guilty of treason, the Brahmans were not publicly executed but poisoned. He further points out that highway robbery was generally punished with death "because it was generally committed by low people". The Hindu criminal laws were highly preferential to the higher castes.[22]

Caste and Marriage

Caste governed the code of rules and conventions relating to marriage in Hindu society. During this period owing to transport difficulties it became a practice, to consider the caste-matters of importance on such occasions as of religious fairs or wedding ceremonies when there used to be a sort of gathering of caste people.[23] The Brahmans, it seems did not posses this type of caste organisation.[24] The issues concerning their caste were generally referred to the Brahma Sabhas (assemblies of the Brahmins) of the important holy places in Konkan. In the 17th and 18th century inter-caste matrimonial connections were beyond the comprehension people and were liable to be visited by the sentence. During the period we have evidence that the rules of the caste, if violated in other respects were leniently viewed but those in respect of marriage and sexual intercourse were rigorously enforced. A section of Brahmans in the west coast under the Peshwa Government was detected violating the established rule of marriage. They were marrying their daughters to the sons of their sisters; hence they were excommunicated.[25] If a girl of high caste in Peshwas dominions were detected in act of adultery. She could be sold and treated as a slave.[26] In this sense caste implied hereditary

continuation of families in the same group and prevented wide intermixture of blood.[27] While granting permits to the Bhandaris in Konkan for the manufacture of liquor, the Peshwa took care to make it binding on them that they did not sell their products to such castes as the Brahmins, the Shenvis and the Prabhus, because they were required by their caste laws to abstain from drinking.[28]

Inter-Dinning

The elaborate rules of purity and cleanliness-internal and external which forced a prominent part of the social etiquette of people were also connected with caste.

The injunctions of caste in respect of food, severe as they were, must have affected free social intercourse among the Hindus, and produced a parochial social consciousness,[29] caste had been the most predominant social institution of the period. Caste imposed on an individual restrictions about food and marriage connection and thereby regulated the nature and extent of his social relationships. There was a corporate unity of the caste. An outcaste could be admitted back to the caste only if approved by the all three authorities, state, caste, and religion. The ceremony of admitting outcaste back to the caste was known as Gotai or Gotapata. Caste is prominently a social institution. Caste set limitations to the manner and the way of ones eating. Some caste were forbidden to eat with other caste men. It a person found guilty of eating with other caste fellow he was excommunicated by the councils of castes. The Raja of Satara could even override the decisions of these councils and order castmen to dine with the accused to complete restoration.[30] The person staying in the Portuguese territory was excommunicated by his castemen at Chaul, Ravdanda, Vasai, Mumbai etc.[31] He was admitted in the Got only after he performed the ceremony known as Gotai or Gotapata.[32] The person seeking admission in the Got had to give a caste dinner to the entire Gota. The caste dinner which symbolised his reunion with his caste was also a public declaration of his purification.[33] A large number of the Gota generally assembled on the occasion of Gota Bhojana. Admission o f an outcaste to the fold was thus an occasion revealing the strength and unity of the caste organisation admission had to be approved by the entire Gota.[34]

Caste and profession

Social sanction to career was naturally not based on the peculiar tastes and aptitudes of the individual but on sheer accident of birth into some profession defined and delimited in most cases by the arithmetic of caste. In the normal course the son of a priest look to

the alter, that of a carpenter of his parental tools, that of a blacksmith to his ancestral forge, and thus it is that the wheel of economic activity in society revolved round the axis of heredity.[35] In Konkan, castes mentioned mostly bear the names of their relative professions. The caste equated with profession and vice versa. Prejudices pertaining to professions were also wedded to social distinctions of castes and few would normally accept a work which lowered the traditional repute and dignity of their caste. During the Peshwa period the duties of the village artisans were fixed by the Government. In the list of 1765[36] published by the Peshwa Government mention has been made of eleven artisans (Balutedars) namely Sutar (Carpenter), Nhavi (Barber), Chambhar (Shoe Maker), Gurav (Priest), Kumbhar (Potter), Parit (Washerman), Vani (Baniya), Dombar (A lower caste), Sonar (Goldsmith), Dhangar (Shephard), and Teli (Oil Presser). Another documents of the year 1799[37] gives the names of twelve Balutedars. This documents, more over, tells us about the gradation among the artisans. It is mentioned that Sutar, Chambhar, Mang, Mahar belong to senior grade, while Kumbhar, Nhavi, Parit, and Lohar constituted the second grade. The Sutar was regarded as the senior most Balutedar. In letter written in 1779[38] Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao pointed out the seniority of the carpenter should be maintained throughout the country. In Konkan, Sutar is a good name for skill.[39] Nesfield had defined the spheres of economic interests of various castes. If they were transgress the state used to intervene in the disputes. For example: The weaver caste had been split into weavers of good origin (Changla Jaticha Koshti) and descendants from female slaves (Batkicha vanshi)[40] the dispute arose between Shimpi Dyers and Indigo Dyers (i.e. Rangaris and Nilaris).[41] The conflict arose between the Patwaris (manufacturers of silk threads etc.) and Jangams on the privilege work in silk.[42] A dispute arose between Pardeshi Kumbhars and the Maratha Kumbhars about manufacturing tiles and earthen pots.[43]

Social Disabilities:-

In every society, the lower classes have invariably suffered from social disabilities. Muslim India and in Konkan caste prejudices did not permit the individual to grow out of them. Both caste and law conspired against the lower orders of the society and kept them in social bondage in the worst form as its helpless victims had no way out of it. It is interesting to study the social privileges by the two sections-Brahmins to study the Vedas and to have their socio-religious rites performed according to the Vedic Mantras was one of the privileges enjoyed by the Brahmins. The Shudras were to have their

socio-religious rites performed according to the Puranic Mantras against the Vadic, and were forbidden to study the Vedas. These violating this regulation could be punished. There is an instance of Sonars (Gold Smisths) whose tongues were cut off to the offence of performing their religious rites according to Vadic Mantras.[44] Because of the severe punishments Shudras castes somethings performed these religious acts secretly. But when any such act was disclosed, they were captured and were put in chains, tied to an elephant feet etc.[45] In another instance a Jangam, the priest of the Lingayatas was fined for performing Rudra Abhishek i.e. a certain Vedic Rites.[46] A dispute between the Brahmins and Prabhus in Pen area of Konkan over caste privileges speaks of various civil and religious disabilities imposed on the Prabhus for the reasons of their being Shudras by the Peshwa Government.[47] The Peshwa Government, issued orders to the Prabus that (I) they should not perform religious rites by Vedic Mantras, (II) they should not use cooked rice as an offering obtains to the dead, (III) that they only used Puranic Mantras in their daily observance and worship, (IV) they will not feed Brahmin in their houses, (V) they should not workship the Shaligram deity, (VI) they only visit the temples frequented by Shudras, (VII) they should salute Brahmins by calling out the word, **dandavat**, and should use the same word in saluting men of their own castes, (VIII) they should not employ or keep at their houses any Brahmin Versed in the Vedas, any Brahmin cook or water bearer, or any Brahimin woman. Thus ones caste determined the sacraments one should undergo the texts one should follow while Performing various socio-religious rites. The Shuldras were not allowed to enter Brahmanical Shrines.[48]

On the contrary the unity of the caste gave such strength that it could even set at naught the unjust order of the ruler. There was a strife between the Sarswat Brahmins of the Sawantwadi state and the Karhade Brahmins concerning some ritual matters. The former felt that the king was rather partial to the Karhade Brahimns, and he was siding them. They therefore preferred to leave the country and settle in Shahapur (Belgaulm District) rather than yield to the pressure of the king,[48] Caste had its drawbacks. It fostered a spirit of division to an extent of disunion. The resulting fission did much harm to the society of the times. During this period castes lived as independent social units whose economic and social interests were almost separated from the rest of the society. Castes became a source of bitter social and political rivalries. Society, dominated by caste. naturally enough tended to be unprogressive.

Slavery :

It may astonish one to know that slavery was a characteristic feature of ancient Greece, whose name stands out in the world of culture, for learning and democratic institution. A reference to a class of dasas, i.e. slaves, is to be found even in the Vedic period. The Pali literature reveals that the system of slavery had become, fairly established in the society of Buddist period.[49]

Slavery as practised during this period seems to have been marked by certain special characteristics. Particularly notable thing about it is that men were rarely enslaved, not even the prisoners of war. According to the prevalent practice male children over the age of ten or so (that is, some to manhood) were not to be sold.[50] During this period war and subsequent looting, **birth** and trading were the major sources of slavery. Women and girls of the Vanquished were freely captured by the Victorious armies and taken to their country to be sold as slaves. Trading in slaves was yet another important and direct source of slavery. Parents could sell their children and brothers and their sisters into slavery under economic distress. This kind of trade therefore appears to have been particularly brisk during famine and political disturbances.[51] Similarly an orphan found in the street could be put, by its finder into slavery.[52] Women, were enslaved for the crime of adultery, even though that had no connection with the provisions of Hindu law.

The institution of slavery prevailed in medieval Konkan down to the beginning of the British period. The male slaves were styled ('Porga' and female domestic slaves "Kunbin"). As in other parts they could be sold and purchased,[53] the traffic in female slaves was especially brisk. They were purchased and sold on a large scale. They could be of different ages. Most of them were unmarried and of the Shudra caste. The female slaves, who were mostly Hindus, also included Muslim girls.[54] The price of the female slave varied from Rs. 50/- to 100/- depending on her qualities as a slave. The female slaves were employed as domestic servants and for making gifts as dasis at the obsequies.[55]

We come across Muslim and Siddi (Abyssinian) slaves, but never Mahars, Manges and the like.[56] The castes from which most of them came were those of Shepherds, Goldsmiths, Washerman, Carpenters, Gardeners, Kolis and Blacksmiths.[57] Thus slavery was exclusively confined to the members of the Shudra castes. Women slaves who were employed in domestic services of the Peshwas, Feudal lords, Sarkars, merchants etc. were well fed and kindly treated.

The slaves may not have been starved. In 1762-63 Rs. 1,303 were distributed to one hundred and ninety five Kunbinis for sari and breast cover on the Dasara festival.[58] In one case we are told that they had their heads anointed with oil at the time of their mistress death.[59] Which shows that ordinarily these slaves were given inferior dress and food. Slaves ownership was quite common in those days and the state owned the largest number of slaves.[60] Sometimes Government also dealth with slaves trade. In 1800-1801 the following order was issued to Mamlatdar of Taluka Ratnagiri, "The number of female slaves at Taluka Ratnagiri being large, the officer incharge should retain for Government work only as many as necessary and to sell the rest.[61] The feudal lords, officer of the state, Merchants, Savakars and alike doubtless owned slaves in large numbers. "The Subhedar of Kalyan left at his death 29 slave girls."[62] The payment made to Government officers was some times in kind and included slaves.[63] Dasis i.e. slaves were enjoying certain rights and perquisites.

Untouchabilites :

The practice of untouchability had its own perquisites. The Ramoshis, Mahkars, Mangs, Dhhora etc were regarded as extremely untouchable. They were called Atisudras or Antyajas i.e. most despicable castes. They were not permitted to live within the outskirts of the village: they had to take their residence outside the village walls.[64] It has been recorded that Mahars were not allowed within the gates of Poona between 3 P.M. and 8 A.M. lest their long shadows cast in the street should defile the persons of the high castes. They were even required to carry an earthen pot tied round their neck into which they had to spit, for their sputum too was defiling, and a thorny branch in their hand with which they had to sweep off their defiling foot prints.[65] Ramoshis were also treated an untouchables and were warned to keep at a distance of twenty yards so that their defiling shadows were not cast on others.[66] According to another paper even material things like wood and metal were believed to the defiling touched by an atisudra.[67] The atisudras were denied many civil rights on the ground that their touch was defiling. Services of village priest for their marriages were denied to them.[68] They were required to do the sheering business themselves with the razor he might required to do the shaving business themsalves with the razor he might agree to tend them.[69] Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao by one order deprived the Mahars of their rights of worshipping at the Samadhi of Chokha Mela a saint from their caste at Pandharpur as it was feared that the Brahmin devotees coming to worship the deity of Pandurang might be defiled

by the touch of the Mahars if they were allowed to loiter around.[70] It can be seen that the Brahmins placed themselves at the top of the caste hierarchy on the basis of ritual purity.

In every Village of the Konkan we find untouchables. Both caste and law conspired against them and kept them in social bondage in the worst form as its helpless victims had no way out of it. The untouchables had no social status, no social rights, consequently no social ethics.

It is said that the untouchables were the original inthalitants of India, but the Aryans conquered and enslaved them. The Adivasis were also the original inhabitants but the Aryans could not conquer them. The Adivasis were treated as touchables. In every village Maharwada (Mahar settlement) existed. Shivaji had thrown careers open to talented people belonging to different castes, creeds who could be much use for the establishment of Swaraj. Many untouchable castes could find opportunity to come to prominence in the military and civil administration of Shivaji.

Even before the rise of the Maratha power the Mahars or untouchables still continued to play an important role in the village administration in Maharashtra.

The first settlement in Maharashtra were those of the Mahars and the Mangs, but later on the Marathas usurped the political power from the Mahar-Manges. Durings the Maratha period the Mahars had to play an important role in the local defence of the villages. The Mahar worked as Jagala or right Watchman, but besides this he had police or Kotwal's powers in the village administration. At many villages Mahars were the Patils or the Headmen of the village. But these Patilships were usurped by other caste people in later days. During the Maratha period in the village administration the Mahar & Mang were really the Veth-Begari or a Servants doing every unremunerated menial and low jobs as Balutedars.[71] The Begar work was done by the Mahars without any cash remuneration. During this period the Mahars had various heavy and vigosons duties to perform. The some of the important duties were as follows : (1) To announce the Government order by beating the drum. (2) To action the chattels from the village Kondwada and to take them to the Chawari when required. (3) To heep the police to dispose of unclaim corpses. (4) To sweep the Chawri and the area near the vesa or the entrance gate to the village (5) To sweep all roads in the village and to keep the village clean; (6) To remove the dead cattle from the village and to take out the hide from the dead.[72]

The Mahars were paid the Baluta at the serving searm in the form of seeds. At the time of harvest all Mahars and the Jagles, Mangs, Bhils, Koli and Ramoshi together had to go to other farms to demanded Baluta.[73]

Another source of livelihood of the Mahars was the begging of the food in the morning and evening at the doors of the Maratha families. Besides daily round of begging the Mahar, Mangs begged on the days of all festivals when the high caste people cooked delicious food and offered parties for their relatives and friends. The Mahar was given the privilege of collecting all half eaten food over by the quests. The shows that the position of Mahars was no less inferior than that of the slaves. By the vatan or Baluta system, the Mahars were socially degraded and economically turned into beggars. He became a slave of the higher castes fortwenly four hours he remained in attendance with higher caste people and rendered inhuman duties.

Forced Labour :

During this period forced labour was practised in the society. It is called Vethbegar. Vethbegar or forced labour was performed by the people from low castes to satisfy the need of higher caste.

During this period we notice seven kinds of Vethbegars as follows:

(1) Vethbegars were used for construction or repair of forts, police station, residence of local bureaucrats as well as the dams (canals) for irrigation. (2) For carrying grains, timbers and other goods of the Government. (3) For cutting grass from government meadons scattered at various places. (4) Their free services were utilised for miscellaneous labour and saddlery at government stables. (5) For doing free duties as watchman at chawki and at market places. (6) Labour services were utilised by the Inamdars of the Village and Khots for construction of houses and portage in the Village.[74]

In the performance of marriage and sacrifice forced labour was exacted from Shudra castes potter, Carpenter, Black-smith and Bamboo workers.[75]

It was a tradition of those days that labourers supplied for the portage (Hajir begar) such as collection of fire wood, fuel, were also used for the construction of shelters for the bullocks of the artillery etc.[76]

Thus the various Shudra castes were regularly pressed into forced labour in their traditional occupation by the government and its local bureaucrats.

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Chapter XIII

FAMILY, MARRIAGE AND POSITION OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY

Caste was dominant feature of the society of this period. A hold of caste-system over a person's 'ife lent paramount importance to the institution of family during those days. Thus family became chief agency of organised social being.

In Konkan, the patriarchal type of family in its perfectly developed state was in existence. The male senior was the undisputed head and guardian of the family 'flock' while others were found to show him due respect and submission.

The kind of family organisation obtaining during the period was the joint family; and hence can be said to be an extension of the practice that had been prevalent in the Hindu Society for ages.

In Indian society, family was not limited to husband, wife and children only. The family of the period was formed of a consanguineous patriarchal group, recognising patriarchal descent. In the joint family, the members of the family lived together for two or three generations with the father at the head. In some cases, all brothers, even step-brothers lived together, the eldest brother being at the head. In some families it was usual to include relatives such as windowed aunts, sisters and their children, orphans though distantly related and such others. Indian society was conscious of the fact that family was essential for the fulfilment of elementary social obligation like the satisfaction of philoprogenitive desires implying the care and nurture of infants. An Indian family has been noted for tender care of parents and it is emphasized that the affection of Indian parents on children almost bordered on dotage.[2] The male issue were especially coveted, as the continuation of family and its traditions were maintained through them. Moreover, among the Hindus, the son alone was entitled to perform the obsequies of the deceased which was, and still is, a sacred obligation. In case of the failure of male progeny, adoption was valid and occasionally practised in a Hindu family.[3] Both among Hindus and Muslims, it is mentioned that the

birth of son gave rise to a festival of rejoicing in the family but that of a female child caused "consternation" and "temporal gloom."[4]

The head of the family was considered as monarch who had a supreme authority in the management of family affairs. He commanded respect and obedience of all in his family, exercising as he did full control over its finances. Even in matters such as observation of religions rites and ceremonies and personal matters like granting permission to the women of the house to go to their parents places or to their husband's places etc., a consent of the head of family was necessary.[5]

For the welfare of the family the head of the family was vigorously enforcing the observation of traditions such as worship of family Gods, performing of Shraddha ceremonies i.e. death anniversaries of one's ancestors and religious rites and ceremonies. It was also his duty to see that the members of his family were married and if he belonged to upper castes, to see that the thread ceremonies of the boys were duly performed.[6]

The head of the family had a right of primogeniture. At the time of family partition, the eldest son was given a special additional share in the property. This privilege, was however, not applicable in the cases of the Brahmin caste.[7] There were peculiar family traditions in the **Watandars** and land lords. The holders of Vatan were entitled to many perquisites and privileges. Some of these rights like the precedence on various ceremonial occasions, using the seal, receiving Shrirapav or present from government, etc. Known as **Vadilkiche** man that is the rights and privileges of seniority, were enjoyed exclusively by the eldest brother or one holding the seniority share.[8]

Although the earnings of the each member of the family varies, each member of the family should get equal share of the property when divided. A piece of the land obtained as a Inam or property earned through service in the army were regarded as a part of joint family. In like manner the members of the family were answerable to any liability which the family incurred.[9] No member of the joint family can advance his claim on the property earned by the individual on merit after separation from the joint family.[10] For the support of betterment of the family the manager of the joint family, the father, could dispose of the property even without the consent of the other members.[11]

There are instances of even Patils compelled, in the case under reference, by the dire adversity of famine, selling the Vatan of Patilship on their own and making it clear that non of his family could assert

the right to the Vatan thereafter.[12] The society was averse to the property of the descendants from female line. Provision in the original Vatanpatra to hand over the Vatan to the son-in-law in the absence of a son and the successors of the interested parities in keeping the Vatan in the family through adopted heirs was disapproved by the judiciary.[13]

Role of the family :

Broadly speaking, family as a social unit performs four functions: sexual, reproductive, economic and educational. Of these, the first two satisfy basic biological and social needs of man and for this reason family is reckoned as a fundamental social unit. Everywhere the family performs these four functions and the role of the family in each society differs according to its social norms and cultural traditions. During the period under reference the family had served as an excellent school for training the child in social etiquette like social stratas, politeness, hierarchical calibration of action etc. Thus the child learns the fundamentals of his culture and society within family circles. The family trained people in good manners and behavior. It taught courtesy, politeness towards the elders, and tenderness and affection towards the young. The son would not sit down in the presence of his father until commanded, smoking by the young before the elders was deemed disrespectful.[14]

The disposal of dead was equally an important duty of family. Rites and ceremonies in honour of the dead were scrupulously performed, as they were considered very necessary for the welfare of the departed in the next world.[15] The reasons why the joint family system continued for ages could be traced to economic factors. Agriculture was the mainstay of the economy. Owing to the lack of employment opportunities and limited mobility, a person was more or less dependent on his family occupation. It was in his interest for that reason that he should stick to his family so as to earn the goodwill and also to learn the skill of his vocation, since there was no formal institution, other than the family, for vocational instruction.

Marriage :

In Indian society marrige was almost a uniform social practice. Marriages were fixed by family. In the selection of matches little thought was given to their compatibility. The social ideals enjoined marriage as a necessary part of woman's life and parents were obliged to settle the matches for their daughters at the right age. The factors that mattered in the selection of a match were compatibility of horoscopes, family background and suitability of gotra, pravera and caste.[16] Caste endogamy prohibited marriage outside ones' sub-caste

group. Breach of the castes rules led to one's excommunication or brought on him some other punishment by his caste or government. At one place we find, for example, the father breaking off the engagement of his daughter upon discovering that there had taken place a sapravara marriage in the bridegroom's family.[17] In another instance a person tried for the offence of marrying his daughter to a person of the same **gotra** as his.[18] During the period under study a marriage alliance was arranged or settled generally by the parents or the guardians of the groom and the bride concerned.

Marriage ceremonies :

When a marriage among higher caste Hindus was fixed, the priest from both sides would decide upon an auspicious day, and hour in common consultation. The following essential marriage rituals in such wedding ceremonies were practiced as they are practiced now.[19] Vangnishchaya i.e. Sakharpuda (Betrothal), Seemantpujana, Madhuparka, Antarpat, Sutraveshtana, Lajahoma, Saptapadi and Airanipradana. In consonance with these injections of Dharma shastra the following procedures were observed in a popular way.

Akshad :

After fixing the wedding day invitations by way of letters were sent round beginning with the house-gods. According to practice, on an auspicious day the relatives of the bride and bridegroom would go together in procession to the temples of the Ganpati and Devi to invite deities and offer them coconut, betel-leaves, kumkum etc. It was the duty of the priest accompanying the procession to invoke the deities to be present at the wedding and ward off all evil. This being done, a married pair from either party would go round inviting friends and relatives.[20]

Simantpujan :

In the evening previous to the wedding day, the ceremony of simantpujan or worship of the boundary was taking place. The parents of the girl with relative would go to bride-grooms house with gifts. There they had to worship Ganpati (represented by a betelnut), Varuna (represented by a water-pot) a lamp and the earth. The feet of the bridegroom were then washed and a dress was offered to him. Next the bride's mother would wash the feet of the bridegroom's mother filled her female relations laps with wheat and dry coconut kernel. The assembled guests were presented with betel-leaves and betel-nuts and Brahmans with money gifts.[21]

Vangnischaya :

Vangnischaya or ceremony of oral promise used to take place

at night. The bridegroom's parents and relations would go to the brides' house with a dress and ornaments for the bride. Fathers of the birde and bridegroom would exchange a coconut and embrace each other. It was customary for the bridegroom's father to give presents to the bride of ornaments and dress brought for her. After the distribution of pan-supari, they disperse.[22]

Halad or the turmeric ceremony: - In the morning of the wedding day, the girl was and is rubbed with turmeric paste at her house by some married women on both sides, the remaining portion was taken to the boy's house where he was rubbed with it in the same way.[23]

Installation of deities began after the bride was given hot water bath by some married women. Thereafter, the bride's parents began the ceremony of worshiping planets with avighna kalash in which contained turmeric roots, betel-nuts, a copper coin and sweetmeats. It was prayed to ward off all evil. This ceremony was held at the bridegroom's camp also Gauripujan is done by the bride only with words, "Gauri, Gauri grant me a happy wifehood and longlife to him who is coming to my door."[24]

Rukhwat :

When the time for wedding draws near, a party from bride's side takes several dishes of sweetmeats to the bridegroom's house and serves them to the bridegroom's and his relation. The bridegroom is worshipped and presented with articles of dress by the bride's father.[25]

Mangalashatak :

On reaching the procession to the bride's house, the bridegroom is led to the marriage booth. Bridgeroom and bride are made to stand on two low stools facing each other with garlands in their hands. An Antarpat (curtain) marked with a swastika is stretched between them so that they may not see each other. Mangalastakas (reddened rice) are distributed among the guests. The priests chant Mangalastakas (auspicious and benedictory verses) and at the end amidst a noise of clapping and drums and pipes, the bride and bridegroom put garlands on each other round the neck. Thereupon guests, relations and friends are entertained.[26] Thereafter Kanyadan,[27] Lajahoma[28] or marriage sacrifice, saptapadi[29] are performed.

Sadi Ceremony and Sunmukh :

The bride is presented with a new sari and choli and ornaments and her lap is filled with wheat, a coconut and some fruits by the priest and some suvasinis. Then the feast is served to the all assembled for the marriage by the bride's parents. Thereafter the procession of

the bride and bridegroom seated together on horse back or in a carriage proceeds to the bridegroom's house with music accompanied by male and female relatives and friends from either side. After Laxmipujan and naming, social exchange of feasts ends the ceremony.

Among the tribes and low castes the task of arranging the matches and setting the marriage contracts was generally left to a third party called Madhyasta, a middle man, who in most cases used to be quite a professional man. These Madhyastas charged some fees for their assistance.[30]

Having informed about the bride by the Middleman it was customary from the bridegroom's side first to go to the girl's house to have a look at the bride. If he approved the girl and found other things such as girl's height, horoscope, family etc. satisfactory and suitable he might report back or himself fix the girl and the date of marriage and them inform the parents.[31]

It was customary among the Marathas and such other castes to observe a betrothal ceremony known as soyrika or magni, announcing the fixation of marriage. The bridegroom's party used to give presents and ornaments to the girl and money or corn to her parents as agreed upon on this occasion.[32]

Among the Marathas and others a practice of bride price prevailed. Broughton reports, "with the Marathas, father receives instead of giving away a portion with his daughter. Bride-price was exacted even in case of remarriage of the girl."[33]

The Peshwas attempted to check the practice of accepting bride price, that had then crept among the Brahmin caste, that especially of the Konkan region. Gopikabai, mother of the Peshwa asked Nana Phadnis to take some strong measures to effectively put an end to this sacrilegious practice, since such previous attempts had been rather abortive.[34] During his tenure Peshwa Bajirao-II had issued a strict order forbidding the acceptance of bride price in any form by the Brahmins and enjoined heavy punishments of fine and excommunication on the transgressors including the bridegroom's party and the middleman if they happened to be a party to their designs in Konkan.[35] Throughout the function, the villagers were invited, consulted and honoured on every ceremonial occasion. The rites were normally spread over five days : erection of the booth, turmeric anointing and worship of the family deities during the course of the first two days, the main marriage ceremonies on the third, homeward procession on the fourth and untying of 'strings' on the fifth and the last day. The rites and their sequence are almost common in most of the Marathi-speaking castes.

The erection of the booth was called Mandavdahale, mandav meaning a booth and dahale, the twigs used in its erection. Bits of coconut were offered signifying the invitation. The host was particular to see that the people of the village were properly invited and that they came unless they were prevented by unavoidable causes. It was a right of village Mahar to string five mango leaves and tie the string leaves to the roof of the booth so as to hang somewhere at the entrance. This was called Toran.[36] It is in practice even now. Villagers were feasted in the evening, usually some vegetarian food was served. A goat was killed for the dinner by some.[37]

In the evening after the erection of the booth at bride's house and bridegroom's house respectively, three ceremonies were performed at both the houses.

The first was the pounding of rice called 'Ghana' followed by the second ceremony of oil sprinkling known as 'Telvan', and then occurred the third and the last ceremony of the evening 'Devadevak' or 'Devakarya' at which the family gods were worshiped. All these ceremonies were and are performed more or less in the same way in most of the Hindu communities in Konkan.

Bridegroom belonging to non-Brahmin community was ceremonially bathed before leaving for the bride's house in the manner he was bathed the day before and after the bath he used to start straight for his bride's house for his marriage. His bathing, therefore, had to be scheduled with an eye on the time for leaving.[38] The whole village joined in the marriage procession. The procession took a ceremonial appearance when it was nearing or passing through a village. It was customary to stop procession on the outskirts of the bride's village where people from the bride's side received the guests. The musicians would now proceed to the house of the bride with women carrying the bride's sari and other things to her. When this was over, the bride's parents, their relatives, guests and the villagers would go in a procession to bring the bridegroom for the marriage. Thus the bridegroom was brought in procession to the bride's house for the marriage. At the entrance to the marriage booth bride's mother would honour the bridegroom. Then the bridegroom entered the booth.

Thereafter the main marriage ceremony began. The priest would hold a curtain with the help of Patil or some other person in front of bridegroom. As the two stood facing each other a sword or a stick would be held over the pair and the priest would start singing the sacred marriage verses called Managalastaka. When the priest had finished, the curtain was removed and he clapped his hands and sees that pair garland each other. The musicians played and the pair became

husband and wife.[39] Marriage celebrations used to continue for many days incurring considerable expenses. Co-operation and participation of the people of one's village on a notable scale marked the wedding of those days. The balutedars, the village artisans had specific duties to perform on the occasion and also a right to enjoy certain privileges.[40]

According to Dharma Shastras it was incumbent on a person to get his daughters married before puberty. In those days even the prisoners were released by the Peshwas on bail as a special case to enable them to get their daughters married in time.[41] Bajirao II had issued an order enjoining on the Brahmins to get their daughters married before the age of nine.[42] In the marriage ceremony shete of the village was honoured by giving present of Shela or rich cloth in Kolaba District.[43]

In the marriage ceremony of Bhandari community Ambrella, Abdagir, Nishan, were used. At the beginning of ceremony Pounding of rice called 'Ghana' followed by the second ceremony of oil sprinkling known as **telvan** used to take place. Then came the third and last ceremony of Devadevak or Devakarya at which a dagger, coconut were used and turmeric root was fastened at the left hand of the bridegroom.[44] During the Angre regime a notable marriage of carpenter took place with a carpenter at Bombay.[45]

Position of Women in Society :

Amongst Hindus, women could not claim any share of patrimony, as the law of succession did not grant them independent rights of inheritance.[46]

In the popular view woman was primarily intended for her rite as a good wife and other chastity and modesty were considered as her chief accomplishments. During the period of our study woman had to undergo all the social disabilities. She had no social freedom. She could not get, except in few cases, good education in her childhood. She was married at young age. She had no freedom to choose her life partner. A heavy dowry was the given to the bridegroom's father at the time of the marriage.[47]

There were no close relations between husband and wife in the family, which was usually a joint family. Husbands used to be rather under the influence of their mothers and sisters than of their wives. The young daughters-in-law thus left to the mercy of their in-laws, especially mother-in-law, who used to have recourse to petty tyranny to which often their husbands would become a party. Instances have been recorded of daughter-in-law committing suicide on account of such torture.[48] A practice of child marriage was prevent. When Shivaji married Saibai in 1640 he was about 10 years old and Saibai about 6

years old. Yesubai's marriage took place in 1667 when she was 8 years' old. At the age of 5 Gopikabai's marriage took place in 1730 when Balaji Bajirao was 8 years old. This was the practice even among the lower classes. The bridegroom in a child marriage could be about 13 or 14 years old and the bride was usually not more than 10 to 11 years.[49]

If unfortunately his wife died after some years he was allowed by custom to remarry, and the girls older that eight or nine years of age were not usually available, he would marry a second wife of a very young age. This practice resulted in unequal marriages in which the age difference between the couples became great. This naturally made the life of woman very miserable in the family. Owing to the practice of polygamy and marrying even at an advanced age, the girls were threatened with early widowhood.[50]

A woman could marry only once as widow marriage was not allowed by the **Dharmashastras**. This being the case, the condition of the child widows became all the more deplorable.[51] To have a housewife life one widow of the Gawli caste lived with one Harji Gawali of Abte in Kalyan Prant as Mistress. She bore him a son named whom she wanted to get admitted into caste. Immediately after the death of their husband they cut their hair and spend all their rest of the life as neglected creatures. Offering to give a son in adoption or some economic assurance with a view to dissuade a widow from her intention to perform Sati also supports this view.[52]

Sati appears to have been practiced on a fairly large scale during the Peshwa period. The custom prevailed mainly among the Brahmins and the Marathas and such warrior classes. We often find that not only wives but also concubines and female slaves would burn themselves on the funeral pyre of their master.[53] But the practice does not seem to have been widespread. But dowry system seems to have been in vogue among the upper classes. In some communities the father of the bride himself used to get some handsome amount from the bridegroom's party. The purchase of girls for marriage was often practiced.[54]

Peshwa Bajirao-II prohibited the sale of girls by the Brahmins in the Villages of Taluka Raigad[55] and Ratnagiri.[56] The Brahmins were ordered to get their daughters marry before 9 years of age.[57] During the Maratha regime remarriage of widows was allowed among the non-Brahmin castes. In order to elevate their own ritual status with the Brahmins, Prabhus and Sonar (goldsmith) had attempted to prohibit widow remarriage in their respective castes.[58] In Maharastra widow remarriage was known as 'Pat'. The wife by pat marriage i.e.

remarriage did not enjoy the same ritual status as was granted to the wife of first marriage. Their children were accounted second to preference in conferment of vatan.[59] Woman's position in the society was governed by the status of her husband. It is emphasised that so long as her husband was alive she remained the pivot of life in the family. On account of her influence over husband, she exercised undisputed away over household affairs, guided the course of its domestic and religious ceremonies, its feasting and festivals.[60]

Hindu women enjoyed the confidence of their husbands and were the guardians of family property, money, jewels and all. Their voice was the dominant factor in all the arrangement of family, the marriages of their children.[61] There were three classes of women in Konkan. The family women, public women and prostitutes.

The family women were and are those who lead house-life according to Dharmashastra as mentioned above. Public women were there that were attached to the temples. In Konkan they were called "Bhavin". The Bhavins were attached to the temples in the village. They had to sing and dance everyday at the time of worship of the deity and accompany the procession. They were patronised by the rich Zamindars of the village. Craufurd called them "Votaries of pleasure."[62] They were indeed the most fashionable class of the age. Their whole life was a round of varied experience. Their costumes were rich and gaudy, their arts pleasing and seductive. Raynal and Grose dwell on the extreme care they took in preserving the charms of their external appearance.[63]

Female slaves who fell into the hands of Naikini (prostitutes) who ran brothels and had to live as public prostitutes.[64] Some of the female salves were employed only for the duties of attending and waiting on their masters and mistresses.[65] Many time slave girls (kunbini) were retained by their masters just for sexual pleasure.[66] It was a common practice with the Princes and chiefs to train their slave girls in dancing and singing and put them in concubinage.[67] Thus keeping of Batki was usual in 18th Century.

There was a practice of kidnapping a girl and getting forcibly married by the rich people. Among the wild tribes this practice was prevalent. But marriages of Adivasi youths required money.[68] There are instances among the Brahmins of kidnapping a girl and had forced marriage. When this was noticed by Ramshashtri, a judicial authority during Peshwas, he ordered that the culprit should be kept in Prison in Artillery place and should be allowed to fill up his belly by begging.[69].

We find that people were getting in a habit of earning maximum money from the sale of girls. In 1770-71 one Bhivubai Vyas, a Brahmin women got her daughter married twice and collected money form her both partners. When the Peshwa came to know this, he ordered the imprisonment of mother, daughter and her brother,[70] Even in case of forced marriages the plea for revocation of the marriage by the aggrieved party could not be acceded to unless it was proved that marriage was concluded hastily without proper marriage rites.[71]

Owing to the practice of polygamy and marrying even at advanced age, the girls were threatened with early widowhood.[72] Again widow remarriage among the Brahmins being prohibited, the condition of the child-widow became all the more deplorable. Kadimoda signified the breaking of marriage which prevailed among the lower castes.[73] There was practice of ordeal of burning themselves alive by the widows on the pyre of her husband. The abject state to which the widows were reduced after the death of their husbands was particularly responsible to force them to take recourse to such a painful decision.

After the death of her husband, a woman was deprived of all her ornaments and even looks, by shaving her hair off, and she remains for the rest of her life without being of any consideration and worse than a slave. This miserable condition causes her to detest life and prefer to ascend a funeral pyre to be burnt alive rather than be regarded for the remainder of her days with opprobrium and infamy by all the world.[74] Immediately after the death of their husbands, their hair cut and were allowed to spend all life as neglected their rest of the creatures.[75]

A widow could inherit her husband's property only in case her husband had been separated from the joint family and dies without an heir.[76] In joint family, a widow could claim only maintenance. Women's right of inheritance either to the property of her father or that of her husband in a joint family was not recognised by the society. Let us state that actual role played by women of the period was better, despite the various restrictions set on them by tradition and social philosophy. Women from aristocratic families seem to have been taught reading and writing during the period under study.[77] Broughton mentions that the Maratha women have a bold look which to be observed in no other women of Hindustan.[78]

The Maratha women were bold. They did not observe Padada. All the classes of women were not affected by the religious tenets and customs. Among the working class people, both men and women had to work for a living, and though the economic contribution of

women was subsidiary to that of men, it was nevertheless very significant. Women of agrarian classes also preformed an important economic role. Such significant economic contribution by the women of the lower classes must have certainly, raised their status in relation to men. Among the lower castes, both divorce and remarriage of widows were permissible. Their widows were free from the obligation of tonsure and sati. Moreover, among these castes, the marriage laws were not so stringently observed. Thomas Coats, for instance, observes that polygamy was allowed, but seldom practised, except by the rich who had no family by the first marriage.[79]

The position of the middle class women, however, was probably worse that that of all others. The practice of polygamy and concubinage as well as denial of divorce left them in a rather precarious state.[80]

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Chapter XIV

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Religious beliefs :

The religious life of orthodox Hindus was mainly covered by the tradition of the caste-group to which one belonged. The whole of their religion might be said to be covered in caste observations.

In respect of religious observances, the several castes in Konkan can be divided as follows (1) Brahmins (2) Non-Brahmins (3) Tribes (4) Muslims (5) Christians etc.

In their religious and social customs the Brahmins were chiefly ruled by the Mayukha, the Mitaksara and the Dharma and Niranya **Sindhu**. The Brahmins were found into sections, Chitpawan, Deshashta, Karhada. The Brahmin was generally to perform daily prayer called **Sandya**. The Prabhus and Goud Sarawsats were also performing daily puja of their family gods. The Vanis (Grocers) who stand next in social scale had no daily form of worship prescribed for them; so also with Marathas, Kunbis and the artisan castes. They were expected to worship the house gods after the morning bath before eating or to visit temples. Worship of family Gods was left to be performed by the head of the family or elder of the family; but it was generally entrusted to the drone of the family, if there be one, or often delegated to boys or even to women as a last resort. Among the well-to do, a Brahmin priest was engaged to perform the daily worship of the house gods.

The Brahmins and other high caste Hindus had in their house a room set apart for the worship of gods which was known as Devghar, the God-room (present day in some houses in Konkan we find Devghar, the god room). Their family gods were generally consisted of Panchayatana or group of five, a stone linga pyramid for Mahadeo, a stone Shaligrama representing Vishnu the Sankha (conch) and cokra (discus), metallic stone representing Durga, a crystal for the Sun and red stone for Ganesh. Besides the Panchayatana some families had the images of their family deities such as Bhavani devi or Khandoba, Vithoba etc. and Padukas (foot prints) of Datta, the preceptor, in the Devhara. A Maratha after ablution in the morning would spend some

time in the Puja before starting the work of the day.[2] The higher castes spent more time and money over the daily rituals. Special days such as Ekadeshi, Mondays, Saturdays the full moon and other important days were for Hindus fast and were marked for the public worship or particular deities by offering the incense, flowers and fruits and other gifts through Brahmin priests.[3] Religion of the common people can be studied through the deities.

The deities of the Hindus in Konkan can be divided into the following classes viz. (1) worship of popular deities (2) the Gramdevatas or village deities; (3) the Kuladevatas or family deities; (4) the Istadevatas or chosen deities and (5) the Vastudevatas or Grah devatas, that is, the class of deity which presides over the house and was established at the time of house-warming or Vastu ceremony.

The principal Gramdevatas in Konkan were and are Bahiraba or Bahairav, Hanuman or Maruti, Mhasoba, Chandika, Durga, Ganesh, Bhavani, Vagheswari, Siva, Ravalnath and many others.[4] Popular Deities in Maharashtra such as Vithoba of Pandharpur, Bhavani of Tuljalpur, Khandoba of Jejuri and Mahalaxmi of Kolhapur are the most popular common deities. They are worshipped in Maharashtra and in Konkan from Brahmins to untouchables.

(a) Vithoba :

The deity goes mainly by two names, Vithoba and Pandurang. His chief shrine is at Pandharpur and is also the chief place of the Warkari Cult. The Ekadashi of Ashad and Kartik were auspicious occasions for pilgrimage to Pandharpur. In the annual concourse at Pandharpur, millions of people gathered from all corners of the country, to worship the deity.[5]

(b) Bhavani of Tuljapur :

Marathas from the Konkan worshipped Bhavani Devi of Tuljapur. Goddess is always represented in her beneficent form as a beautiful woman riding a tiger in a menacing attitude to destroy the demons of sin and darkness.[6] She occupies the place of tutelary deity of the Marathas. Shivaji, the king of Konkan derived inspiration from the Goddess Bhavani.[7] He had a shrine built in her honour at Pratapgad.[8]

(c) Khandoba :

Khandoba of Jejuri, the tutelary deity of the Marathas,[9] had equal position with Bhavani Devi among the devotees. Khandoba literally means 'Sword father' who guarded the country. He was the Isvar Dev or Guardian Deity of the Deccan.[10] He is shown as a

horseman with a sword in his right hand, and his wife Mahalsabai sitting beside him. Bhavani and Khandoba were great Gods to the Marathas of the seventeenth century.[11]

(d) Mahalaxmi :

Mahalaxmi is a very ancient Goddess of Maharashtra. She is also called as Ambabai. Her chief shrine is at Kolhapur. She attracted devotees from all castes in Maharashtra and Konkan. People also visit Nasik, Trimbak, Paithan & Harihareswar. Pilgrimages to the abovementioned places and shrines was yet another mode of begetting punya (merit). It was an earnest desire of almost all to visit at least once in their life-time one or more of the places of pilgrimages - pilgrimages held special appeal to people for more than one reason. Most of the sacred places were situated at the confluence of some sacred rivers whose waters were believed to have quantity of mitigating or absolving one's sins. A bath of in sacred rivers was believed to wash away one's sins and added to one's merit. Moreover, acts of charity performed at such places were capable of carrying greater rewards than they would have anywhere else. The celebrated places mentioned above happened to be on the bank of the holy rivers, the Krishna, Godavari and Bhima.[12]

Every year holy places are thronged by the devotees so much so that there were occasions when some of the pilgrimages stampeded to death. This was happening at the temple of Vithoba of Pandharpur on the day of Ashadhi and Kartiki Ekadashis. Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao tried to ameliorate the situation by causing additional apertures to be made in the roof of the temple to admit more light and air, levelling the floor of the inner and outer court to avoid stumbling and having a separate entrance and an exit.[13] Thousands of devout Hindus still go on pilgrimage to Benares, Prayag and Marathura.
Fairs or Jatara (religious fairs) also served as an occasion for great enjoyment and entertainment in Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts which are attended by Konkanis once in a year.

Mahalaxmi fair at Viwalwedhe, Taluka Dahanu. This fair is held annually at village Viwalwedhe at a distance of about 17 miles to the east of Dahanu Road Railway Station on the Western Railway. Pilgrims from all over Maharashtra and Gujarat visit the fair. Varlis and Malhar Kolis attend the fair. Varlis and Malhar Kolis attend the fair in large numbers to revere the Goddess and also to purchase the provisions and other articles required during the monsoon. The fair starts on chaitra sud 10 and ends on chaitra vad 10 (March - April). Besides the annual fair, members of the different scheduled tribes

viz. Warlis, Mahadeo Kolis etc. numbering 40 to 50 thousands collect at the temple on Vad 12 to take darshan of Goddess Mahalaxmi. During the fair period of 15 days, about one lakh persons belonging to different castes from among the Hindus attend the fair.[14]

(2) Mhasoba fair at Mhase, Taluka Murbad :

This fair is held annually in honour of God Mhasoba or Khamle Lingeshwar, a name given to Lord Shiva. The fair is held on 15 Sud Pausha. The deity is worshipped only once in the morning at about 7. It is customary to make vows for a birth of a child in the household, getting relief from physical or mental suffering, prosperity in the business etc. The vows are made in the presence of a "Ghumarya"or "Warkari", Maratha by caste, who becomes unconscious when possessed by the God. It is said that this fair is held for the last 200 years.[15]

(3) Haji Malang Fair at Wadi, Taluka, Kalyan :

The fair is held in the month of Magha (January-February) at Malang-gad hills at village Wadi near Kalyan in honour of Saint Malang Baba or Haji Abdul Rahman, an Arab missionary. Though the fair is in the honour of Muslim saint, its duration is determined by the Hindu Calendar. The principal day of the fair is Magh sud 15. The saint is said to have been deputed by the Almighty to ward off evils and to safeguard the people from the wicked deeds of demons. People belonging to different religions and all walks of life attend the fair in large numbers. The total congregation is estimated to be about two lakhs of people. Nearly eighty thousand of them attend on the full moon-day alone. Darga of the revered saint stands on a hilltop. The place is 9 miles away from Kalyan taluka headquarters. The Dargha is said to have been built by the forefathers of the present priest (Mujawar) some 750 years back. It is believed that the Saint is capable of showering blessings on the devotees.[16]

Baba Diwan Saheb Urus at Bhivandi, Taluka Bhivandi :

This fair is held in honour of the Muslim Saint Baba Diwan Saheb alias Shaikh Hussain Kadri, who died in 1665 A.D. and the Dargah was built by his daughter's grandson, Kutub-ud-din Sajja dah Nashin in 1711 A.D. The annual Urus of the Saint is celebrated with festivity in the month of Zilquad. The saint is supposed to be capable of showering blessings. People therefore, make promises in return for getting a child, getting bodily and mental relief or for prosperity in business etc. The pilgrims are drawn from all parts of Northern India and a few from South India. The majority of them are Muslims.[17]

Ambareshwar Fair at Ambarnath, Talluka Kalyan : Since the days of Shilahars the annual fair is held at Ambarnath in honour of God Ambareshwar or Ambarnath on Magh Vad 14 (February). It is celebrated on Mahashivaratri day and is also known as Mahashivaratra fair. The ancient temple of Ambarnath is said to have been built by Maha Mandaleshwar, a King of Shilahar dynasty, about 980 years back. Each portion of the stones has some figures or decoration engraved on it. The outer walls of the temple also bear images of Gods and Goddesses carved in stones. The fair is attended only by Hindus.[18]

Bombtya Vithoba fair at Takai, Taluka Khalapur, Dist. Kolaba :

The main fair at the temple is held in the month of Kartik. There is a general belief that the deity is capable of satisfying ones' desires. People from all castes among Hindus and Tribals (viz. Thakur and Katkaris) gather at the fair in large numbers. The fair starts on Kartika Sud 11 and ends on Kartika Vad 11. People from round about village and other villages in Kolaba and Poona districts attend the fair. At least ten thousand persons attend the fair. The total attendance during the fair period exceeds one lakh.[19]

Kunkeshwar :

A small village in Deogad Taluka is famous for the temple from which it takes its name. The temple with granite foundations and latent super structure and dome is said to have been built by the Musalman trader. It was repaired by the Kolhapur Chief in 1680. A yearly fair held on last day of Magh (February-March) attracts about 10,000 people from all over Konkan. The duration of fair is 7 days.[20]

Rites and Rituals :

The major part of the customs of the Hindus consisted of ritualistic practices related to various religious ceremonies known as Sanskaras. These ceremonies which principally consisted of purifying rites were conducted under the directions, according to orthodox practice, of a Brahmin priest. Sixteen Sanskaras were observed by almost all castes. The chief of these customary rituals were those of birth, thread girding, marriage, pregnancy and death. The garbhadan (girl-wife's coming of age) ceremony was performed separately and with great pomp as then girls were married at an early age. The Brahmins used to observe daily rites (Nitya Karmas) like Snana, Sandhya, Tarpana etc. They hardly deviated from their practice in a Military camp or even during the course of a war.[21] These formed an important part of the daily round of one's religious duties.[22] The grand Brahminic sacrifices were performed during the Peshwa period by

the individuals with the active help of the Peshwas. The sacrifices were provided with all kinds of facilities and free labour and provisions required for the sacrifice.[23] There are recorded instance that during the performances of some sacrifice[24] in the regime of Nana Saheb Peshwa and a grand sacrifice called Sarvatomukha Yajna during the regime of Peshwa Bajirao-II thousands of Brahmins were entertained to a feast.[25] The people felt that by encouraging sacrificial rites one did one's duty by religion. The ryots of Bassein region, which had been for a longtime under Portuguese domination, for instance, as if to compensate for their negligence of true religion in the past, conferred a Dharmadaya Vriti (a charitable allowance) on a Brahmin of Kalyan, because he had performed some sacrifice; they felt that Swadharma (Hinduism) could be promoted in like manner in that part of the country as well.[26] Caste, however, set limitations to the manner and the way of one's devotion. Some castes were forbidden to enter some temples or touch their deities. The state was very particular about the strict observance of caste regulations. The orders issued by the Peshwas from time to time, in this connection, show the keenness of the government in these matters.[27] A person found deviating from his Jayati-Dharma, was promptly treated as outcaste. A person converted to another religion lost not only his religion but also his caste or caste-status. The case of Pathare Pancha Kalse of Salsette, who were converted by the Portuguese is very interesting for their persistent attempts to get themselves admitted to Hinduism is the one at the time of Shivaji. When another attempt was made in 1735 their caste people made it clear to the authorities that if any pressure was brought on them for admitting the converts, they would prefer to migrate than suffer degradation of their caste.[28] Re-conversion granted by the state was invalidated following the objection of some caste-men.[29]

Local deities :

Local deities were generally found in special localities or sacred places called Ksetras or Punyasthanas. The following were and are the famous deities in Thana District of Konkan region.[30]

(i) Kopineshwar Mandir (ii) Ganesh Mandir of Titwala (iii) Bhawani Shankar of Agashi iv) Ambarnath or Ambareshwar (v) Hanuman of Badapokharan (vi) Bhimeswar temple of Ganeshpuri (vii) Vajreshvari (viii) Kanheri (ix) Kalman Devi of Kalwa (x) Malanggad or Bava Malang (xi) Mhasoba of Mhase (xii) Nirmal (xiii) Vithal Mandir of Shahad (xiv) Mahalaxmi of Viwalwedhe.

In Kolaba district the following local deities were widely famous :

Shri Vinayak Devsthan at Murud, Shri Ganapati Sansthan at Madh near Khalalpur, Shri Babileshwar, Devsthan at Pali, Shri Kanakeshwar Devsthan at Kankeshwar,[31] Rameshwar devasthan at Chaul,[32] Shri Ballaleshwar and Ramaji Sansthan at Panvel. Whenever village was founded it was customary to establish a village deity as a guardian of the village. The local deities chiefly worshipped at Chaul were Ringlaj, Jakhmata, Bhagwati, Mahikavati, Champavati and Golambadevi.[33]

The principal Gramdevatas in Ratnagiri district were Bahiraba or Bhairav, Bhairi devi, Bhavani, Bhutanath, Chandika, Durga, Ganesh, Hanuman or Maruti, Jakhmata, Kalkai, Kshetrapal, Khemraj, Mahalaxmi, Mahakali, Mauli, Pandhar, Ravalnath, Vaghjai and many others.[34]

In Konkan Christians and Muslims were seen scattered throughout the regionm Majority of the Christian population was in Vasai Taluka of Thane District. It was estimated that about 1.50 lakhs Christians had made their abode in Konkan. Thana District of the Konkan region was known as the home of aboriginals who are locally known as Adivasis. During the period under study they were 1/4 of the total district population. Another scheduled tribe is Varlis. They constituted about 45% of the district's scheduled tribe population. They were and are numerically the largest among all the tribes.[35] The people of the region belonged to five main sections, Hindus, Christians, Musalamans, Parsis, and Bene-Israelis or Jews. For descriptive purposes Hindus can be brought under the fifteen heads of Brahimins, Writers, Traders, Husbandmen, Manufacturers, Craftsmen, Players, Servants, Shepherds, Fishers, Laboures, Early tribes, Leather workers, Depressed classes and devotees.[36]

We have already explained above in brief religious observances of the Hindus. Let us now sum up the religious observances of the Christians of the region.

The Konkani Christians had and have their religious rites and ceremonies regulated by the canon and liturgical laws of Roman Catholics the world over. But for actual government and ministration, the Roman Catholics in the region from the very beginning are under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Goa, who has under him Vicars general and under a Vicar general are priests in charge of Parish Churches, Smaller Churches attached to Parish Churches and Chapels.[37] Parish priests are chosen from all classes except the very low such as Mahars, converts and illegitimate children. The priests

are educated at Goa and ordained at the age of twenty-four by the archbishop of Goa or his delegate and they remain celibate for their life.

The objects of particular devotion of Konkani Roman Catholics are the blessed Virgin Mary, St. Anne, St. Francis Xavier, St. Antonio, St. Sebastian, and St. Joseph, whose image, with the image of Christ they keep in their houses and pray to. A small figure of the crucified Christ and of the patron Saint reverentially placed either on an alter or in a niche in the wall of the house. The more religious among them pray five times a day, on rising, at midday, at sun set, shortly after sun-set and on retiring to rest.[38]

Konkani Muslim has a strong strain of foreign blood, both Arab and Persian. The foreign element probably existed before the time of the prophet Muhammad (570-632)[39] and in the spread of Muslim power, between the 7th and 10th centuries, as sailors, merchants and soldiers of fortune Arabs came to the west coast of India in great numbers.[40] Among all the Kings of Konkan there was no one so partial to Arabs as the Bal hara and his subject followed his example.[41] Early numbers in the 10th century Arabs are mentioned as settled in large numbers in the Konkan towns, married to the women of the country and living under their own laws and religion.[42]

From 14th to 18th century the services of Arab seamen were in demand.[43] The traditions of the Konkani Muslims and the accounts of the many Muslim historians agree that the bulk of them fled to India and settled on the west coast from the Euphrates valley about the year 700 (82 AD) to escape massacre at the hands of the fierce governor Hajjaj bin Yusuf.[44]

Konkani Muslims are divided into the four main tribes: Syedes, Shaikhs, Mughals and Pathans and two more classes; Jematis or members of the community and Daldis coast fishers, with whom the Jamatis do not intermarry.[45] On every Thursday, either in a Mosque or in a house built for the purpose, the Konkanis used to meet together and sing hymns to the praise of God and the Prophet. This done, tea is drunk and sweetmeats distributed.[46]

The caste system, the village and the religion played very important role in the life of the people of medieval Konkan. It gave stability and security to the medieval society. Religious life in medieval Konkan was of two kinds. First, the higher from of religion - the philosophical speculations, which were reserved for the learned and the erudite. Second, a simple form of worship the customs and ceremonial practices of the common people that largely prevailed in

their social system. The religion in its higher form meant the great divine spirit prevailing the universe, that for the soul of every human being was, therefore, man's duty to seek perfection by re-union with Brahma by undergoing a process of purification.[47] The highest goal was the end of the cycle of births by controlling one's desires by Bhakti (devotion). The soul, which animated the body of the Brahmin was nearest to this state of bliss, provided he fulfilled the ordinance of the faith.[48] The moksha (deliverance) was the ultimate goal of every Hindu, who would like to get himself rid of the cycle of births. There were three paths to achieve this : The path of action (Karma), of knowledge (Jnyan), and of devotion (Bhakti). The masses practised all the three as means of attaining salvation in the period of medieval Konkan.

It was believed that the divine spirit alone was not responsible for the existence of the universe and its going. Prakriti also played some part in it. Prakriti took the form of Brahma (the creator), Vishnu (the preserver), Shiva (the destroyer). These gods assumed a number of forms (Avatars), with their respective wives on the earth to fulfill their missions in difficult time.[49]

The idea of ten incarnations of Vishnu was famous. The stories of these incarnations supplied ideas and themes for kathas, dramas and other religious amusements.

Worship of the village Deities (Gram Devata) :

There appears to have prevailed, a form of popular religion which mainly promoted the worship of village deities and evil spirits. In every village the Gramdevata is periodically worshipped and propitiated. The chief village deities were Yamai, Satavi, Vetal, Vaghoba, Kalyani, Vinayi, Kali, Kankeli[50] etc. So also there were and there are Maruti, Khandoba, Munja, Pir, Tukai Girmai and Soori.[51] According to Monier Williams, these village deities were local fetishes generated by aboriginal tribes, which were later grafted into the Hindu system by the wise Brahmins to win the masses towards their religion.[52] The village deity was regarded as a power helping in time of trouble and a power more intimately concerned with the happiness and prosperity of the villagers. It was customary to offer these village deities, on the festival days like Dasara, Holi etc. or any other special occasion, the sacrifice of a buffalo or a goat on the village border with a view to ensure health and prosperity of their village by keeping them pleased and well disposed.[53] The normal function of the Gramdevata was the guardianship of the village but many of them believed that it had other powers especially in relation of disease and calamity.[54]

The peculiar religious beliefs and ceremonial usage's became characteristic of the village deities. The men who performed the Puja i.e. the worship were not only the Brahmins, but were drawn from all other castes.[55] Every caste from highest to lowest however took jealous pride in their own calling inherited from ancestors.[56] The village deities were believed to get annoyed and taken recourse to vengeance, if their customary offerings were withheld or if they were annoyed or provoked in any other manner.

In many villages of Konkan the goddess Pandhar was and is considered to be a Gram-devi or the chief goddess of the village. The Pujari is generally a Gurav or Maratha Kunbi. On every full moon day coconuts are offered, and on the occasion of sowing and reaping, goats and fowls are scarified to the deity. The deities Ravalnath, Mauli, Vetal, Rameshwar, Jain and Hanuman are usually worshipped everywhere. Diety Vetal in the temple of Ajgaon is offered a pair of shoes every month. It is informed that at night the god Vetal goes out walking in the new shoes.[57] The village deities were believed to get annoyed and taken recourse to vengeance by bringing epidemic diseases like cholera, small pox, plague etc. In order to avoid the danger of such diseases, the people of the village used to worship the village deity in a special form by offering them timely sacrifices of animals and other offerings. There is a document showing how goddess Laxmi of small pox was propitiated and prayed for protection by means of a fair held in her honour and sacrificing a goat.[58] In cases of small pox, the deseased child and the person into whose body the small-pox deities called Bayas entered, were worshipped with Abhir (Black scented powder),[59] flower garlands etc, The small-pox deity was sometimes specially worshipped for a number of days.

Epidemic diseases were attributed to witchcraft by low caste people and with the belief that the power averting such diseases lies in the hands of village deities. Villagers try to propitiate them with the sacrifices of goats and coconuts.

The Hindus were in habit of making vows (Nawas) in order to procure offspring or with some such object and fulfill them when they succeeded in getting their desire. Special ceremonies called Laghurudra and Maharudra in honour of Shiv were also performed. Sweetmeats such as Pedhas etc. were offered to the Gods in fulfillment of vows. Acts of benevolence such as buildings Dharmashalas (guest houses), digging out new wells and distributing clothes and food to the poor were performed in fulfilment of vows. Women used to make it a vow to walk round fulfillment of vows. Women used to make it a

vow to walk round the Audumbara of Pimpal tree, and to distribute Coconuts, Sugar, Jaggery, copper or silver equal to the weight of their children to avert general illness or family calamity. It was considered to be the duty of the King or the state to ensure the well-being of its subjects. It was that on the failure of rains or on occurrence of earthquakes, epidemics or any such calamity, the state directed the concerned officers to perform anustitanas and such other propitiatory rites.[60]

Unfavourable planets were dreaded like evil spirits, and it was believed that they could be propitiated by giving specific gifts to Brahmins.[61] Horoscopes were cast to help forecast the course of future events and important incidents in one's life. Angres used to consult astrologers very often for getting forecasts regarding future events in the lives of their family. Women were proficient in the art of exorcism of evil spirits. In the illiterate low section of society the mischief was augmented by the belief that outstanding personalities generally after their death roamed as ghost in the unseen world, hence the wide extent of worship of ghosts in the unseen world. The ghosts had to be propitiated as they threatened from time to time the people in the land of living.[62]

Spirits were believed to be mischievous in causing inexplicable illness and disease, misfortunes and even death. Under the Maratha Government, those who were suspected of invoking evil spirits against any family or person were fined and were harshly treated if they took no steps to relieve their victims of their spells. People relieved themselves of the influence of the evil spirits by offering prayers to the deity and performing various ceremonies.[63] Diseases which could not be satisfactorily diagnosed by the physicians were suspected to be caused by the evil spirits in which event, an exorcist was immediately called for.[64] These exorcists were a professional class, known variously as Bhagat, Darveshis, Tantriks, Mantriks, and Panchaksharis, who were supposed to be well-versed in detecting the evil spirits and warding them off.[65] A person convicted of having practiced witchcraft or black magic was punished with excommunication. He was fired and his Vatan if any was confiscated. In some cases, such persons were banished from the country.[66] Even highly placed people believed in the practice of Tantric rites. Nana Fadnavis heard that one Mahadeo Shastri was reputed to be a good Mantrasastri i.e. an adept in the practice of astral magic. So Nana deputed his confident to him to inquiry whether it was possible for him to destroy the British.[67]

The dread of the evil eye (Nazar) was quite a popular superstition. The Nazar of the envious and the malicious was to be avoided most carefully at the birth of the son. Broughton reports that people used to dress their children in cheap clothes so that they might not attract an evil eye.[68]

During the Peshwa period even false accusations of sorcery were severely fined, and those who were found guilty of practicing it, mostly men of low castes, were all the more heavily fined. The aid of a magician was invoked to detect the charges.[69] People believed in certain omens as indications of good or evil. If owls, cats crossed the path it was considered ill omen. Dreams were also interpreted as rich in tidings for the future, and those experienced in the morning were held true.[70] The appearance of beautiful girls in dreams "covered with jewels and precious stones" was interpreted as heralding good and happy news.[71]

Worship of Saints :

Saints and mendicants coming from both Hindu and Muslims were worshipped and honoured by all the communities. They were looked upon with veneration and were credited with super natural powers. They were symbols and patterns of morality and special powers were supposed to have been given to them by God. Saints were styled as Gurus and his successors respected both Hindu and Muslim saints and granted for the maintenance of holy places like temples, mosque, math or samadhi.[72]

Varkari Cult :

The Varkari cult or Varkari Sampradaya of Maharashtra and Konkan is but a school of the medieval cult of Vaishnavism which preached that Bhakti, devotion to Lord Vishnu and Vishnu alone, preferable in his incarnation of Krishna, was the supreme way for attaining one's salvation. Varkari Sampradaya maintained exclusive devotion to Lord Vithoba of Pandharpur. The principal deities in Pandharpur are Shri Vithal and his consort Rukmini. Four big fairs are held at Pandharpur annually, and the Varkaris go to the fairs at above mentioned times. The opinions vary about the construction of the temple, it is however, believed that the temple has been in existence for a long time. It is said that the temple might have been constructed during 1117 to 1137 A.D. by the ruler Vishnuvardhan of Hoysala dynasty, who discarded his original Jain faith and followed the Vaishnava sect. at the request of the devotee Shri Pundalik. Many parts of the temple are constructed during the 16th to 18th century. From the Hemadri's work of Chaturvarga Chintamani which was written in about 1270 we know that Pandhari Ksetra was on the banks

of Bhima, where Panduranga was worshipped and indicates that this place was reckoned as one of the well-known of pilgrimage places.

Notes & References

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3. Ibid.,
4. P. R. Behere, Shri Ravalnath Ani Konkan Devaski, p. 15.
5. Ibid.,
6. Chitnis M.R. Shivaji Maharajanche sapta Prakanatmak Charitra p. 15.
7. Sabhasad Bakhar, pp 8, 9, 29, 48 and 87.
8. Ibid.,
9. 91 Kalami Bakhar, Kalam no. 70, Sabhasad, p. 21 Shivcharitra Sahitya, Vol II, Lekh no. 141.
10. Dighe, (ed.) Maharashtra State Gazetteers, part III, Maratha period, p. 233.
11. Sharma, Maratha History Re-examined (1944), p. 92.
12. Peshwa Diary, Vol V, No. 235.
13. Ibid. Vol. VIII, NO. 1129.
14. Census of India, 1961, Vol X, Part VII-B, Fairs and Festivals in Maharashtra, pp. 78-79.
15. Census of India, 1961, op. cit. pp. 79-81.
16. Census of India, 1961, Fairs and Festivals in Maharashtra, pp.81 - 83.
17. Census of India, 1961, Fairs and Festivals in Maharashtra, pp. 85-86.
18. Ibid, pp 87-88.
19. Census Report of 1961, Fairs and Festivals in Maharashtra, pp. 89-90.
20. Ali Adilshah made endowment grants to this temple and its Pujari. See Avalaskar, Aitihasik Sadhane, Ls. 7, 22, 32.
21. Khare, Aitihasik Lekh sangrah Vol. IV, L9.
22. Shejwalkar, Nagpur Affairs, Vol. I, L. 298.
23. Peshwa Diary Vol-II, Nos. 322, 331; Vol-I, No. 238.
24. Ibid, Vol-II, 322, 331; Rajwade, MIS, Vol-VI, p. 49.
25. Peshwa Diary Vol-V, No. 238.
26. Rajwade, Mis. Vol-VI, L 53.

27. Peshwa Diary Vol-V, 241; Vol-II, 317; Bhat, Maharashtra Dharma, pp. 348-53.
28. BISM Quarterly Vol-XXVIII, No. 60.
29. Peshwa Daftar, vol-25, L 10.
30. Maharashtra State Gazetteer of Thana district, pp. 947-1104.
31. Adilshah made endowments to the temple and to hits pujari, Avalaskar, Aitihasik Sadhane, Ls. 722, 322.
32. Ibid L. 39.
33. Maharashtra State Gazetteer of Kolaba Dist. pp.163-64.
34. Ibid. Ratnagiri District, p. 232.
35. Ibid, Thana District, pp. 261-66.
36. Ibid., p. 250.
37. Churches are situated in almost all cities and towns and prominent villages of large localities.
38. Maharashtra State Gazetteer, Ratnagiri Dt. p. 254.
39. A trace of the early Arab sailors is found in Jazira, or the island, the latter part of the name Melizeigara, appearently applied by Ptolemy (15) and the Periplus (247) to the town and island of Malvan of Melundi.
40. Many Konkani families, though at present following different professions, are distinguished by Arabic surnames, Kazi, Judge, Fakih, Lawyer, Mualla, Professor; Khatile, Preacher, Mukri, elegy singer, and Hafiz Qoran reciter.
41. Ratnagiri Gazetter m.s. p. 262.
42. Masudi (913) Prairies dor, II, 86.
43. In 1663 the company's merchantsman president was, off Sangameshwar, attacked by two ships and four grabs. The crew were Arabs who said they were in Sambhaji's pay. Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 120.
44. Maharashtra State Gazetteer Ratnagiri dt. p. 263.
45. Perhaps Daldis are outcaste.
46. Maharashtra Gazetteer, Ratnagiri, p. 263.
47. Sen S. N. Foreign Boigraphies of Shivaji, Vol-II, pp. 162-163.
48. Duff, Grant, History of the Marathas, Vol-I, pp 8-9.
49. Shiv Bharat, pp. 43, 47.
50. Joshi, Marathekalin Samaj Darshan, p. 212. Maharashtrachi Sanskritik Ghadan Vikas, pp. 283-84.
51. Peshwa Diary, Vol-V, No. 253.
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53. PSAP nos. 68, Peshwa Diary, Vol-VI. 816.
54. Bendre V.S. Maharashtra of the Shivashahi period, p. 17.

55. Atre T. N. Gavagada, pp 143-44; Bendre op. cit. p. 20.
56. Ibid.,
57. Maharashtra State Gazetteer, Ratnagiri District, p. 232.
58. Rajwade, MIS, Vol-XXI L 215.
59. Enthoven, op-cit. p. 270.
60. Peshwa Diary Vol-II, nos. 325, 26; Vol-V, nos. 234, 236; Peshwa Daftar Vol-22, L. 319; Rajwade, MIS, Vol-II, No. 454.
61. Peshwa daftar Vol-18, L 127.
62. Martin, op-cit. I, pp. 192-93; Broughton, op-cit. pp. 178-79.
63. Peshwa Diaries, I, 331-32, 400; VII 619.
64. Ibid. IV 52, PSAP, L 218.
65. Campbell, notes on spirit Basis of Belief & Customs, p. 170.
66. Peshwa Diary, Vol-VIII nos. 924, 925, 1114 & Peshwa daftar 32, L 204.
67. Peshwa Daftar 32, L 194.
68. Broughton, op. cit. pp 207-208.
69. Peshwa Diaries Vol II, 92, 93, 108.
70. Pillai. Ananda Ranga, Diaries, Vol.IV, pp. 182-83.
71. Ibid. pp. 61-62.
72. Sabhasad, p. 27; Ajnapatra, p. 11; Rajwade, MIS, Vol-III, L. 11; Vol-XV, L. 67, 141; Vol-X, 161, 242; Shivcharitra Sahitya Vol-III, 509, 15, 17, 663, Vol-IV. 773, Vol-V, 807, Vol-XII, 104; Sanadapatre, pp. 162, 68, 71.

Chapter XV

DAILY LIFE AND PASTIME

Features characterising the mode of living of a particular community can broadly be grouped into two classes : those following tradition and those adopting a new way on account of unavoidable circumstances. The tradition bound mode of life is generally the result of natural resources and the needs of the people. And these are invariably influenced by factors like climate, agricultural resources, character of the land and innate endowments of a race. The country of Konkan which abounds in hills, valleys and ridges includes vast tracts of land which are uncultivable.

The average rain-fall in Konkan is about 125 inches. Moreover the absence of perennial rivers and low fertility of the soil have perpetuated poverty in this region. Apart from the rich and well-to-do people like the Angres, Sawants and their Sardars, overwhelming majority of the masses living sublime, in spite of natural poverty. Naturally the people living in Konkan proper tend to be simple and frugal in their habits and their way of life. The result is that the way of life of the Marathas in Konkan is generally simple, without much embellishment and unsophistication. These circumstances did not demand any change in the simple way of their life till the advent of British power in Konkan. However, the life in the villages continued unchanging.

Let us now investigate the details about the people, their dwellings, dress, food education, festivals and entertainment etc.

The People

During the time of the Marathas, the people in Konkan changed their hereditary vocations. The natural aptitude of boys of any of the four castes was to take to the calling of a soldier. The Brahmins in Konkan had cut their caste moorings, and began to play an important role as a politicians, diplomats and warriors.

During the Peshawai period they became rulers. The word Maratha had gained dignity and status in the society. He was fond of plunder and war. The ambition of a Maratha Soldier was to become a

mounted knight. He had an inborn love for a horse. It appealed to his fancy and enhanced his status in the social scale. The trot of a horse attracted him. Mounted on horse he brought wealth at the edge of his spear and rarely thought of making fortune by peaceful commerce.

Shivaji, the great, the founder of the Maratha Empire had launched his political career for promotion of *Maharashtra Dharma* which implied the encouragement of religious orthodox practices such as, *achardharma* and *jnyatidharma*, in other words orthodox *Hinduism*. The goal of establishing *Swarajya* and promoting *Maharashtra Dharma* in Konkan appears to have been reiterated by his successors and later rulers as well. So Hinduism was practiced by all class of people in Konkan. For the protection or *Maharashtra Dharma* (Hinduism of the most orthodox veriety), the Peshwa was requested to undertake Bassein campaign in 1739. The *Patils* and *Vatandar ryots* from Bassein told the Peshwa that the Portuguese rulers of Bassein had desecrated the temples and holy places in that part and converted the Hindus and the *Maharashtra Dharma* was on the wane in that area and requested the Peshwa to re-establish the religion and reinstate the deities and restore the Swadharma in that area.

Accordingly Chimaji Appa conquered Bassein and re-established Swadharma. However, Hinduism (or Swardharma) ceased to be a catch word in the later Maratha polities where the real political power was concentrated in the hands of the Peshwas. In Konkan the Angres were one of the members of the confederacy. They were at heart against the expansion of the Pehwas's power which they feared would lead to his total supremacy. By virtue of their superior caste (Brahmin), they would regard themselves as religious heads also. Therefore, Sambhaji Angre told the Peshwas' envoy to tell the Peshwa that the Konkan belonged to Angre's and the Sidis and the Peshwa had no business to put up a fight for Konkan.[4]

During the Maratha period, the Konkan had as now a mixed population of Hindus, Muslims and Christians. The Sidi of Janjira was a Muslim ruler. He followed the policy of religious practices. During this period the Portuguese cultivated hatred against Maharashtra Dharma i.e. Hindudarma and imposed various restrictions on the religious practices of the Hindus. They were forbidden from building temples and Muslims could not build mosques. The presence of a Portuguese at every marriage as witness was made compulsory. The Hindus were neither allowed to perform any religious functions at home nor permitted to offer worship before

an idol. When a person dies leaving behind him his only minor son without any near relations, except his widow, the boy should be converted to Christianity. When the territory occupied by the Portuguese passed into the hands of the Marathas in 1739 the Hindu rayot in Konkan appealed to Peshwa Bajirao to undo the work of the Portuguese and enhance the prestige of Maharashtra Dharma.[5]

In Thane, Kolaba and to a great extent in Ratnagiri, the castes which follow a particular calling are with the exception of certain local peculiarities almost the same. Of the Brahmin community, the Chitpavans were the most prominent. They are known as Konkanasthas and they considered their original home to be Ratnagiri. Many of them cultivators owing and tilling the richest garden lands. As cultivators their skill and industry were proverbial. Many of them were Khots who acted as money lenders and had trade chiefly in grain and other field produce. A few of them were priests and traders. But their favourite occupation was government service. During the Peshwa regine they held most of the important posts in the Government. Besides the Chitpavans, there were Karhadas and Deorukha Brahmins also as they are at present. The other important class Sarswats, were landholders, but rarely did cultivation themselves and like the Chitpavans, were fond of government service. In the commercial world of the Konkan, quite a few of these Brahmins were rich traders, grocers, timer merchants and contractors.[6] Thana had also its privileged land holders, called *Pandharpeshas*, but this class ceased to exist after establishment of British rule in the land.[7]

The only other class worthy of notice was Kayastha Prabhus who were mostly to be found in Thana and Kolaba. Some of them were cultivators, some were in government service and some were hereditary district and village officers. On the whole, they were prosperous. There were also Banias from Gujrat in towns and large villages on the coast. In Ratnagiri, there was also an isolated and prosperous community of Jain Vanis.[8] As to the rest, many were labourers and miscellaneous workers who hardly deserve a mention. During the period of our study, the agricultural population of Konkan was most varied and mixed. Of the principal cultivators, Kunbis[9] were found all over the Konkan especially in the inland villages. Agris[10] along the coast and creeks, Bhandaries[11] entirely on the coast.

The Sea faring Castes

The Bhandaries, Daldis, Sonkolis, Gabits and Kharvis were the seafaring castes of Konkan. They supplied crew for the Maratha Navy.

The people of these seafaring castes were generally habituated on the coast of Konkan and subsisted mainly on fish and rice.[12]

The Bhandaries, engaged in extracting the palm juice as their hereditary profession, supplied the nimble crew as they were experts in climbing the tall palms. The Kolis and Bhandaris were daring people. They possessed practical knowledge required for sea voyages-the geography of surrounding coast.

The Khar lands were brought under cultivation during Angre's regime.[13] These are also called salt rice lands. During the rainy season the Agris are all engaged in the cultivation of these land. Their duties were to watch and repair the embarkment and merely scattere the seeds from small boats into the inhudated fields and leave the rest of the process to nature.[14] The Salt manufacture in Konkan is an extra occupation done by Agris, Kunbis, Kolis and Christians. About one third of the people employed on Khar land and Salt manufacture belonged to Agri Kunbis an agricultural class peculiar to the caste. At present also, they form a distinct caste and do not intermarry with the Marathas or other Kunbis. The men were greatly addicted to drink as they were exposed to the cold weather to which they were exposed in the Salt work and Salt lands.[15] The remaining two thirds of the people (population) were employed in fishing. Some were employed on board the small vessels which ply in the rivers, in the harbour of Bombay and along the coast.[16] The other people were engaged in agriculture. Fishers and sailors formed an important class and belonged to several castes. Of these, Sonkolis and Kharv is were the principal fishermen and sailors of the North and South Konkan. They were always in demand and earned good wages Bhois fond all over the Konkan, were mostly fishermen, melon growers, labourers and cultivators. They are a poor class of people.[17]

Of the depressed classes, Mahars were found in large numbers all over the Konkan. They were village servants and field labourers. In Dapoli and Ratnagiri, much land was owned by Mahars. Many went to Bombay as sweepers and carriers. Large number entered the army and proved hardy and brave soldiers. There were besides, Chambhars (Leather Workers) and Mangs. Mangs were few in Konkan. The Dher's were found in North Thana.[18]

In Konkan Pant Amatya of Bawada had Sardeshmukhi Vantan of Salsi and Kharepatan and some villages in Inam.[19] The benevolent Amatya gave social justice to the Rayats as follows:

In his territory the Amatya exempted Cowherds and Shepherds from rendering *Press-Services*,[20] relieved his subordinates of the liability to stand surety for money taken on credit by the Raja.[21] He

discontinued marriage cess levied on the Teli Community of tarf Kharepatan.[22] He issued orders for reduction of cess on account of *Pati* against the village Nerle. The Amatya also ordered the renewal of Dharmadaya cash allowance in various villages in favour of deities.[23]

Religious and Social Customs of Artisans and Tribals.

It is perhaps needless to mention that the religious brotherhood of the warkaris did not, in the least, affect the functioning or Gotsabhas which played a decisive role in the social history of the Konkan of this period. These Gotshabhas like were something caste *Panchayats*, or autonomous bodies which dealt with the affairs of particular gots or communities. The political authorities rarely interfered with them till the advent of the British rule. Their decisions were binding on all members of the community, and the political authorities intervened only when the verdicts of one Gotshabhas conflicted with those of another in which case the dispute was submitted to the existing political authorities.[24] Not enough work has been done on their formation and functioning of Gotshabhas of different groups of artisans who were working in combination with each other to meet the needs of Agricultural Society. Documents preserved in the Deccan Commissioner's File Rumal Nos. 149 to 154, preserved in the Pune Archives give us information regarding the social and religious customs observed by the Artisans (downtrodden communities). These documents also tell us about the functioning of Gotshabhas of these communities and their judicial decisions in detail which speak religious and social custom of these artisans. Before explaining the decisions taken by the Gotshabhas, let us describe the different groups of the artisans who helped the society.

The metal workers, among these are iron workers and copper workers called ghisadis[25] and gambhat,[26] clay pot workers are known as kumbhar,[27] workers in gold and silver are called goldsmith, workers in wood are carpenters. Persons who do the profession of weaving some fine silk and cotton and called weavers (koshti[28]). Bangadi makers and kasars. One group of artisans are tailors (shimpi[29]). People who weaver rough woolen blankets called kambla are belonging to the Shepherd group. There is another very negligible group of people called entertainers who entertain agricultural society. These are *itinerant* groups who go from place to place with animals like monkeys, bears and snakes. They are called Wanarmare, Darweshi and Garudi. These are also storytellers or priests of particular Gods Gondhlis or Goddesses or readers and translators into simple Marathi

stories as told in the Mahabharata, Ramayana or the Puranas. Then there are groups who put on plays with little bit of story and then speak of a lot of local politics, very broad jokes, a little bit of dancing and singing (Tamasgir, Dombari, Kalsutri, Kolhatani). The last entertainer of the society is a group of dancing girls group which is called Kalavatin Jat.[30] A mine of information about the customs followed by these Jatis (castes) is available in the documents of the Peshwa Daftars mentioned above.

All these Jatis which were called groups had their own traditions. The customs and traditions followed by those communities were answered by their members to the British Officers in the beginning of the 19th century. The British officers collected information from the different parts of Maharashtra and Konkan, the common usages regarding marriage, kinship-system and family organisation of 58 downtrodden communities[31] which include the following:

(1) Rangari, (2) Brahma Kshetri, (3) Kasar, (4) Komati, (5) Koshti, (6) Kasta, (7) Koli, (8) Katari, (9) Parit (10) Sarvade Joshi, (11) Jangam, (12) Nhavi, (13) Vanjari, (14) Lonari, (15) Kirad, (16) Warli.

The information obtained from the caste-people presents a peculiar combination between the customary rules of law and the requirements of practical life. It is a noteworthy feature of the system that, in cases of crime the offender was required to purge himself of the sin he or she had committed by performing penance which was called *Deodanda* and to give dinner to the people of his or her caste, in order to qualify himself or herself for social intercourse. This was called Jatidanda.

The British Officers who collected information also found that the Maratha Jurisprudence during the period was chiefly based upon the laws incorporated in the *smritis racial* customs and law of personal status developed under the Sultans of the Deccan. The law of procedure followed and the system of ordeal and *expiations*, formed part of the ancient laws. The rules of the caste were based on racial customs.[32]

The system of management of caste affairs, both public and private, throughout Majlis was continued till the end of this century.[33]

The questions regarding social and religious customs were clarified by the elder persons of the above-mentioned aboriginal (वर्गीकृत जमाती) and backward class communities. Replies to the questions were obtained and compiled alongwith the questionnaire.

On scrutiny we find that certain customs and practices were common in some of the communities. In the caste of Rangari, Kast, Katari, Koli, Sarvade Joshi, Vanjari, Parit, Jaggam-Nhavi, Chambhar, Maratha and Kasar, a person was declared an out cast if he would eat or drink with a Mahar, Mohammadan and Mang. Social intercourse with the outscasts were also forbidden.[34] The assembly of Got called Jati Panchayats dealt with such offences. Moreover, the other offences dealt with by the Jati Panchayat were also explained to the Government afterwards. Detailed replies were received and they are grouped together and given below as the offences dealt by the Jati Panchayat of each communities. (a) eating, drinking or having similar dealings with a caste or sub-castewith which such a social intercourse is held to be forbidden, (b) keeping as concubine a woman of another caste,[35] (c) seduction of or adultery with a married woman,[36] (d) fornication, (e) refusal to fulfill promises of marriages,[37] (f) refusing to send a wife to her husband when old enough,[38] (g) refusing to maintain a wife, (h) non-payment of debt, (i) patty assaults, (j) breaches of the customs of the trade peculiar to the caste, (k) encroaching on another's clientel, and raising or lowering prices, (l) killing a cow or any other forbidden animal, (m) insulting a Brahmin, (n) defying the customs of the caste regarding feasts, etc. during marriage and other ceremonies. Social customs of the above named communities are more or less same and the information gathered by the British officers run into volumes. We therefore, restrict ourselves to the information about habits, and manners etc.

Religious and Social Customs are found to be similar in the following communities which are as follows: In the Agri Gurav and the caste mentioned above, a man may marry his mothers' brothers' daughter. Polygamy was practiced, divorce was allowed, a widow could re-marry but not in her late husband's family. The dead are burnt or buried. They were found eating flesh of goat, sheeple towl and fish and some of them drink liquor.[39] In the Gurav caste,[40] both the dowry and bride-price were allowed, divorce was allowed as also widow remarriage. They are Non-Brahmin priests of the God and are vegetarians. In Konkan and in Maharashtra, Navhi ranked with the agriculturists The duties performed by the Nahvis, besides the shaving of hair were to hold torches in Marriage processions and serve the guests with food at Maratha weddings. The Maratha Nhavi was not to shave untouchables and a few other castes, Europeans, native Christians and Muslims.[41] The Parit are the Washermen; cross-cousin marriage, widow-re-marriage and divorce were allowed. They

generally burnt their dead bodies.[42] Vanjaries are found in Gujrat, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra. They are the grain carriers for different armies in the Mughal and Maratha times. Hereditary occupations of this tribe was to carry merchandise chiefly grain, salt and other eatables like dails, Coconuts etc., from one part of the country to the other on the back of bullocks. In their communities, cross-cousin marriage was not allowed. Divorce was allowed; window remarriage was also allowed. A fine was levied on a widow if she did not marry her husband's brother. The married dead were burnt and the unmarried were buried.[43]

Let us now see the living and social customs of was Warlis.[44] The Warlis are an aboriginal tribe with their concentration in the northern parts of the Thana District. They are also spread rather thinly, in the other adjoining districts of Surat, Nasik and Dhulia. Their settlements consist mostly of a group of huts or thatched houses and are generally scattered over the area. Their food consists of the produce of the land like rice, nagli, jawar and they also partake of fish and flesh of such animals as are usually considered clean in the Hindu Society. Some of the more scheduled groups also ate such animals as dead bats and field rats. The family is primarily patriarchal though the custom of taking a gharorya is also current, according to which the prospective husband of a daughter comes to live and work in the family. Their common life was mostly ruled by the system of the Panchayat, and the chief person among them called Jatela used to decide all matters of tribal customs and other petty disputes. They worshipped animal Gods like the Vaghya, Vaghoba, trees like Pimpal and some other tribal gods like Naran Deo, Hirva and Himai. The Bhagat was their priest, medicine man and the charmer. Their marriage ceremony was fairly simple and the Brahmin priest had no part to play in it. The woman called Dhavaleri used to sing songs on the occasion of the marriage. Polygamy was allowed though not common. Divorce[45] was permitted and the widow could remarry usually brother of the deceased husband.

Houses :

Now we will deal with housing, dress, ornaments, food and education of the people in Konkan.

The types of houses built in the Konkan vary with the locality and the stage of development and culture of the community to which the inhabitant belongs. Houses of middle class tradesmen such as Vania, Government servants etc; were the buildings with walls of stone or firebaked bricks and roots of tile,[48] whereas the Kunbi's

houses were covered with thatch or palm leaves or bundles of rice straw. The walls were of mud of sun-dried brick. The walls of the houses of middle class people were built of mud, and of the poor of reed. Shopkeepers used to live in dark rooms behind their stalls with a backyard for cattle and entrance was through a backdoor. The hovels of the poor with one door way were divided by Bamboo or Palm leaves partitioned into three or four small rooms.[49] The houses of the working classes in the suburbs were nothing but huts which were covered with leaves. They were so low that an ordinary man would not be able to stand upright in them; entering them he was obliged to creep in on his hand and feet.[50]

The mud walls and thatched roofs were the outstanding features of general habitations in the country. They were a clear evidence of the misery and poverty of the masses.

Dress :

The style of dress of the Konkani Hindu which falls in the general category of Maharashtrian was at that time much the same for all communities wit differences chiefly in material being due to difference in wealth. Because of climate of the Konkan, which is moist and warm, all the year round the people generally were found using the clothes to the bare minimum.

Among the poorest classes, including field and town labourers and the tribels, adult males generally used to wear indoor a *langoti*; a square piece of cloth first passed at the front by its corner over the waist corner girdle and its corner then drawn tightly between the divide of the buttocks and tucked behind. While going out they were wearing a short waist cloth (Pancha) in Dhoti fashion with a back-tuck or just wrapped about loins to make up for the deficiency of langoti. Most of the agriculturists used *Kudata*, a half-sleeved jacket. The varieties of lower garments in fashion were Tumba, Payajama, Vijara, Chrina, Cholana, Tumana and Dhotar.[51]

The Dhotar was the traditional unstitched lower garment worn in the same way as is done in the present days. Ordinary Dhoti measured ten *hata* in length and two and quarter in width.[52] A dhoti which used to be generally plain white has coloured borders of various designs embroidered in gold or silk.[53] The *Pitambara* was worn particularly at the time of performing a religious rites.

A variety of headgears were in fashion. Pataka, Pagote, Pheta, Pagadi, Rumals, Mitha and Mundase. All these headgears represented some kind of turban in different styles adjusting to a particular shape of which we know very little.[54] Brahmins tied their turbans high above

the head, whereas the people of humbler castes bound their turbans flat on the head.[55] The pagote could be white or coloured. The Rumala had golden border. The Mundase perhaps was an ordinary headgear worn alike by rich and the poor.[56] The poorest perhaps covered their head with a piece of coarse cloth called Pancha.[57] Scarves were considered as an essential article of their costume. A variety can be observed in this kind of garment, Shela, Chadara, Palu, Odhani, Sarposa, Dushela, Pasodi represent variety of scarves.[58]

The women's dress consisted of Sari (role) and Choli (bodice) The Maratha women used to wear nine yard saris in a peculiar style. The mode of wearing the sari followed generally by women of the working and agricultural classes and the tribals was characteristically peculiar. Among them Sari or Lugade which was smaller than the standard one was worn short, hardly reaching below the knees. The end of the Saree which they drew from the right across the chest was not allowed to hang on the back but was brought to the front from underneath the right arm and tucked into the wast-band.[59] A noticeable difference in the dress of the women of the upper of and economically handicapped castes was that while the latter caste women covered their head with the Pallu of their Saris, the upper caste women usually threw it over the shoulders.[60] The textiles of Paithan were highly prized and used by the rich class women. Paithani was the name for a Sari of peculiar pattern and design, essentially rich in gold zari-work that was woven at Paithan. Blouses were commonly made of special blouse pieces called *Khana*, but sometimes such rich material as taffeta, gazeni, itacha were also used for blouses.[61] The infants and children were draped in Kunchi and Peharana.[62]

Both men and women used to wear shoes or slippers called *Joda* and *Payaposa*, made of leather or velvet. [63] Costumes of the people were thus colourful and bright. The rich would use fine muslin and silk generally embroidered in gold or silver. James Frobes saw Raghoji Angre in this costumes and described that "Raghoji Angre was splendidly dressed in a muslin vest and drawers of crimson and gold Keemcab; his turban and sash were of purple muslin, the former adored with springs of diamonds; his earings according to Hindu custom were four pearls and as many transparant perforated rubles on gold rings two or three inches in diameter; he wore a rich braclet on his right arm; the handle of his dagger was studded with jewels; the hilt of his sword plain gold."[64]

Ornaments of Men and Women :

Men and Women of higher class showed fondness for jewellery, *Sirapecha, Tura* and *Jega* used by the Military officers and Sardars

and the ornaments for the headgear. The turbans were studded with a variety of precious stones.[65] *Mala, Kanthi, Tikahara* denoted the variety of necklaces worn by men.[66] *Bikbali, Choukada* and *Kudakya* denoted the variety of ear-rings worn by men.[67] *Bajubana* and *Bhujaabanda* were armlets.[68] *Angati, Pavitraka, Salla* were the varieties of finger rings.[69]

Women of this period decked themselves from head to foot with variety of ornaments. To being with the head, we find gold ornaments for adornments for plaits such *Kuvari, Machha* (fish), *Kurma* (tortoise), *Bore* (plums), *Chimanva* (sparrows), *Sitaphala* (Custard-apple), *Awala* and *Mayur*.[70] The *Nath* was the chief ornament for the nose. The ear ornaments were *Bugadi, Karnafule, Balya, Kapa, Bhokare, Kudi, Kudakya and Kundal*.[71] The variety of necklaces appears to be pretty wide. *Mala, Saree, Kanthi, Tanmani, Lappha, Pota, Galasari, Vajratika, Thusi, Chandrahara, Mohanmala, Kantha* were some of the gold ornaments for the neck.[72] *Bajubanda* and *Vaki* were the armlets. *Dore, Gajare, Gota, Kanganya, Patalya, Natasara, Tode, Pohochi, Bangadya*, speak the variety of female braceletes. There are to be found various designs and patterns. *Painjaja, Sakhalya, Gujarya, Toradya, Vala, Ghagarya* were the various anklets worn by women as well as children. Anklets were commonly made of silver and rarely of gold.[73] *Anavats, Masolya, Jadavi, Vala, Virodya* were the toe ornaments made usually of silver.[74] There was a distinct range of ornaments for children also. People had such fancy for ornaments that they would even adorn their animals with jewellery.[75]

Food :

In the Konkan Rice has been the staple food of the people but in the northern parts it is jwari and bajari. This difference in the food habits of the people has much to do with their social life. The result, a resident living in one region when transferred to the other finds it necessary to spend more in order to buy the grains of his choice.[76] In some cases this difference in food habits is also due to a particular kind of climate. Any one used to live in particular climate naturally makes a choice of food, which is congenial to his well being. The religion followed by a person has some influence on the matter of choice of his food. This can be verified form the fact that Brahmins who war usually vegetarians, do not take meat or beef. Some orthodox Brahmins detest taking even onions or garlic, However, the lower strata in the society is addicted to taking non-vegetarian diet, perhaps with the exception of beef. According to Broughton,[77] the Maratha in general eat cakes of the flour is mixed with water and the flour which

is wet is given the form of a cake; this cake is baked on an iron plate; as an adjunct to it, they eat "dal-liquid", this 'Dal' is kind of pulse i.e. edible seed; it is like splitpeas; this 'Dal' is mixed with salt, and Papper and is boiled; this boiled liquid is called 'Amti' i.e. "dal-liquid". Some times Buttermilk is boiled and to it is add selects to give "Karhee."[78] A poor Brahmins's menu usually consists of rice, curry, vegetables, pickles, seasoned bread, buttermilk and salt. Sometimes it includes a desseart.[79] Ration granted to Tulaji Angre – a political prisoner consisted of rice, polished and of superior quality pulses (moog or toor) wheat or wheat flour, ghee, jaggery, vegetables, spices together with Betel leaves, nuts and tobacco. However, the ration of his servants (slave women and a boy) consisted of jawari, pulses and salt.[80] The ration of prisoner of war with Hyder-Ali consisted of rice of superior quality but unpolished pluses, wheatflour, ghee, sugar, salt and betel leaves and betelnuts.[81] Navymen's ration included rice, pluses, salt and ghee and artillery men were given ration consisting of rice, jawari, bajari, pluses and salt.[82] It appears from the above details that ghee, sugar and rice were not considered necessary in an ordinary fare. According to Forbes, the higher ranks throughout India were addicted to eating rice.[83] Ghee and other milk products included in the menu or the well-to-do.[84] From the description of a party given by a rich Brahmin, we learn that the menu consisted of "bread made of wheat, jawari or bajari, thin 'pappad' made of corn flour, a curry made of boiled pulses, ghee and another curry made of buttermilk somewhat seasoned and a big quantity of plain rice and also two other kinds of rice, one sweet and the other spicy; in addition to these items there were pickles, 'dhatna' and stewed vegetables. All the adjuncts were placed on deep leaves round the large cover, to the number of thirty of forty.[85] The breakfast of the rich classes included ten kinds of 'koshimbiri', or 'salad', papad, ladu or sweetmeats, curd-milk, ghee, jams and dry fruits like almonds, pistachip-nuts, coconuts etc.[86] The menu of the middle class consisted of rice, pulses two or three vegetables, mixed pickle, curry, kadhi and main dish of 'puranpoli' and ghee. It was a practice in those days, that a Brahmin did not take the meals, without taking bath, making prayers and sandhya rites. Before sitting down to his food, he had to change to silken dhoti, to avoid defilement.[87] Brahmins, rich or poor, used to eat their food out of plates made of leaves or plantain leaves. He could use a vessel or pot of brass or copper for the purpose of cooking. However, for the purpose of eating his food he was expected to use metals like silver and gold. For the purpose of

sitting down for this food, he had to use low wooden seats, while plates and dishes of leaves were arranged in straight lines which were called 'Pankti'. It was believed that such a seating arrangement indicated some cast-prestige. A person sitting to dine with others in the same row was supposed to belong to the common caste.[88] The table of the rich included twenty to thirty side-dishes.[89] While dining in order to enliven the air with sweet aroma, aromatic sticks known as 'udabatti' were burnt.[90]

Education:

In the middle class society both in the urban and rural areas education was not neglected. Reading and Writing in the mother tongue with some knowledge of accountancy and crafts were common items of instruction. There were many schools for the education of children where they learned their mother tongue.[91] According to Forbes, there were numerous schools in all towns for the education of boys; they were generally in the open air, on the shady side of house. The scholars used to sit on mats or cord rung floors and learned as much of religion as their caste permitted. Some instruction in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic were given. The simplicity of the average Hindhu School attracted Forbes' attention. He says, "Nothing can be more simple than a Hindu school which is usually under a thatched shed, open on three sides, with a sanded floor, on which the boys learn to write and go through the first rules of arithmetic, in which science some of them make great progress,"[92] "It is a fact, however, that the lower classes were not enlightened by a purer system of religions of liberal education in higher arts and sciences."[93]

The average education was restricted to the elementary knowledge of 'the three Rs.' The Child was taught the Dhulakshara writing i.e. dust writing.[94] The study of the Modi script formed a special feature of the course of elementary instruction. That was the only script of general and official correspondence. In the first stage the children were taught only to write on sand. (dhula) with fingers. For the writing practice, the student had kittaa or copies written out by the best writer in the village. We came across a reference to Biwalkari Kitta, a copy which was regarded as a standard one. After learning Berij, Vajabaki (Addition and Subtraction) and Gunakar and Bhagakar (Multiplication and Division), deciphering and reading Modi was taught.[95] The elementary schools were free to all. Most of the students it seems, came from among the Brahmins, Prabhu, Sonaras, High-caste Marathas and Vanis.[96] For these were the castes of merchants and officials, of clerks and accountants. Others who

generally took to profession of arms would rather pride in their proficiency in arms than in letters.[97] Literacy among the cultivator class, was very low.[98] The system of elementary education of this period was marked by a peculiar method of instruction which has come to be described as monitorial system. According to Jervis' account of this method, the senior student used to assist their teachers, in the instruction of the junior students. The students left their work when called to assist or help to young companions. In this system the senior students, while assisting the juniors in their work, were benefited by revision of their own studies. The Pathshalas (centres of higher learning) were few in Konkan. Educational report from South Konkan reveals that at the schools of higher learning, students were taught gratis and provided with free boarding and lodging.[99]

Female Education :

Jervis, in his educational report, observes that there were no females educated except a few that were tought in the families of principal Musalmans,[100] Instruction of women must have been done strictly at home, probably under the supervision of elders and employing private tutors or by the members of their own family. Separate schools for girls did not exist.

Warkaris :

All castes and communities in Konkan joined the Varkari movement. They used to take annual pilgrimages to Pandharpur. In the Warkari movement caste differences were forgotten. It was mixed on Kartik and Magh Shuddh Ekadashi, pelgrimage to Pandharpur and on the bank of the Chandrabhaga. In social life, the saints accepted the inequalities of the caste system and did not protest much against its vigours.

Religious Ceremonies :

Performance of Brahmanic sacrifices was the feature of the period. The people felt that performing sacrifices was an important feature of true Hinduism, it promoted the well being and happiness in the country and by encouraging sacrificial rites, one did one's duty in religious matter. The ryot of Bassein region, which had been for a long time under Portuguese domination, for instance, as if to compensate for their negligence of true religion in the past, conferred a dharmadaya writh (a charitable allowance) on a Brahmin of Kalyan. Because he had performed a Som sacrifice, they felt that Svadharma could be promoted in like manner in that part of the country as well.[101] As the sacrificial were too expensive, people took simpler agamice rites based on worship of the idol. Japa, Japya, Upachara, Pooja were

some of the popular agamice rituals which formed an important part of the daily round of one's religions duties.[102] The state was very particular about the strict observance of caste regulations. If the caste refused to accept a person converted to another religion back within its fold, re-conversion could not take place, however faithfully he followed the Hindu religions practices. The case of Pathare Pancha Kalse of Salsette, who were converted by the Portuguese, is in point. Their re-coversion to Hinduism was opposed by their caste-men by refusing to admit them in the caste. During Shivaji's time and during the Peshaw's time in 1735 the attempts made by these converts were strongly opposed from their caste men who made it clear to the authorities that if any pressure was brought on them for admitting the converts, they would prefer to migrate rather then suffer degradation of their caste.[103]

Pastime :

Wrestling was perhaps the most popular gymnastic sport. Vajra Musti was another popular gymnastic sport. Horse-riding, Bothatee (lance) and hunting were highly favourite sports of soldiers. Animal-fights, Buddibala, Canjfa or play cards were some of the game prevalent during the period.

It was customary for the wealthy classes to celebrate their festivals and occasions of grand solmnity like Wedding, Christening Ceremony etc., by themselves with Nach entertainment by Kalavantia (dancing girls). Dramas based on Pauranic stories were performed during the Jatra before the village Gods by the Dashavataris. They were called Dahikalas because participants in this entertainment assumed parts representing the ten incarnations of Vishnu and this was staged on the open space without curtains especially during Jatra (religions fairs). This custom is prevalent in the villages of Ratnagiri District even at present. These fairs were generally held at places of pilgrimage once a year. In 1736, the Angre Darbar had extended an invitation to one Shyamji Kale, Dashavtari for performing Dahikala with his troupe on the occasion wedding of Fakirji Angre.[104] Shyamji kale and his troupe were wellknown Dashavtar artists and used to go to distant places to stage Deshavtaras in Konkan.[105] Listening to the recital of Powada, Lavani. Songs was yet another popular entertainment of the period. Gondhala, Lalita-katha and Kirtana are classed as religious entertainments. It was customary in Konkan to invite the people of the community called Gondhalis on occasions like marriages etc. for special recitals. These Gondhalis used to sing invocation to almost all the village Gods in Maharashtra to grace the

occasion and the custom continues even today in the rural areas. The festivals celebrated during the period were varied. The most notable amongst these festivals were Dasara, Holi or Shimaga, Diwali, Ganesh Chaturthi and at some places Vasant Panchami. Over and above these, the seafaring communities were celebrating the following festivals, (1) Full moon day of Sharavana, (2) Janmashtami [birthday of Lord Krishana], (3) Kartika Dwadasi and falgun full moon day. On the last festival, goats were sacrificed in order to appease the local dieties.[106]

Devaski of the Village Deities :

Worship of village deities and evil spirits was predominant in Konkan during the period of our study and even now. The nature of these village deities was varied. Village deities (Gram-Devtas, as they are called) were believed to have power over demons. In every villages in the South Konkan, we find Ravalnath, Santeri, Vital, Purvas as deities. The villagers worshipped these deities by offering flowers, incense Sindhur eatables etc., It was customary to offer the village deities on the festival day like Dasara, Holi etc. or any other special occasion, the sacrifice of a goat or hen on the village border with a view to ensure health and propesrty of their village, by keeping them pleased and well-disposed. On the occasion of the village Devaski, Tarangas the symbols of Deities are taken in procession. The late Bambardekar has expressed his view about Tarangas as follows: "In most temples of this region, Tarangas are found. Tarangas is round smooth pole of wood of man's height, it bears strips of different colours. On these Tarangas face-mask (मुखवटे) of men and women either of silver or copper or palm of hand or placed. They are robed with sarees and Dhotis and worshipped."[108] Mankaris of these village deities are called *Vartikas*. Those *Vartikas* carry these Tarangas on their shoulders on the occasion of village devaski. It is believed that the spirits of God of Goodness of Tarangas enter in the bodies of men who carry Tarangas and therefore they move their bodies, which is called Avasaras. At most places there are three Tarangas. They are called Tarangas of Rawalnath, Pavanai and Bhunath.[109] At other places number of Tarangas varies from 2,4,5,7, etc. These banners (Tarangas), symbols of Gods it is believed, must have coming into vogue during the Jain period as this region was under the Jain rulers of Kadamba and Shilaharas for sometimes. Seven Tarangas are taken out into procession on the occasion of Dasara, Shimga and other important festivals. The chief one taken on shoulder by Gurav is

known as Jainacha Khamba.[110] This establishes the relation of Jains with the Tarangas.[111]

We should now study the concept of deities connected with Devaski. These deities are Santeri or Bhumika, Revalnath Vetal and Purmar. Bhumika is commonly used name of Santeri. It appears that the ancient colonists who made settlements here started cultivation of this land and regarded it as a form of Devi and Worshipped it. Thus Goddess Bhumi assumed the name or Santeri.[112] Bhumika means earth Icon of Goddess Santeri is found at many places in Konkan. But at some places there is hillock built-up by the white ants (Varul or Royana) which is established in the Santeri temple instead of idol and worshipped.

Temple of God Shree Ravalnath is found almost in the every village from Karwar in the South upto Deogad in the North. A few temples are found to the north of Deogad also. In Konkan spirits or ghosts collectively are called as 'Rawalnathachi Kule' in a local usage. Rawal is transformation of word Rahul and Rahul was a name of son of Gautam Buddha. So the people in the pre-Buddist period must have come down with God Rahulnath in Konkan with his worship. So Rawalnath became the trademark of South Konkan.[113] Rawalnath of Otegaon is the family deity of the rulers of Sawantwadi and many Bardeshkar Brahmins.[114] This is popular Goddess of this region. Taranga of Rawalnath is a symbol of this deity. There is another custom prevalent in Konkan worth mentioning, as it tends to show that Rawalnath is Jotiba. On the occasion of the fair of Jotiba on Chaitra Pournima, silver idol of Jotiba is carried to the temple of Yamai, it is said for his marriage with her. Exactly similar rite is in vogue about Rawalnath and his marriage with Pavani, whose Tarangas are brought together. This rite is known as Shivlanga.[115]

In the Konkan region Vetal is the deity most commonly found almost in village. It is icon-idol, has two hands with a sword in the right hand. The icon is either of stone or wood. Vetal is one of the attendants of Siva and its is believed that all evil spirits coming within his domains are under his command. Taranga of Bhutnath is a symbol of Vetala who is considered as war minister.[116]

Rites about Balidana :

Though the people of Konkan celebrate other festivals like Dasara, Ramnavami etc. fairs of local Gods, they are not related to Devsaki. The following are associated with Devaski (1) Kheterpuja, (2) Khocha Khoch [one day before darsana], (3) Katan (4) Dalapacha Devopan (5) Seema Tharavane (6) Deserudha.

(1) Khetarpuja is artie or pacification of God Kshetna Pola. A food besmeared with blood of goat is offered to him (God). This Gods' image is usually behind the temple of Rawalnath. (3) *Katan* : is a rite performed on the Dasara day. Tarangas of God and Goddesses are kept in front of a temple and drawn swords are placed before in crossed position like a pair of scissors. Thereafter, Mahar, Madval, Sutar, Pandharskar lie on one another face up (Mahar being at the bottom), above them stands Gurav with a dagger in hand and he sprikkles grains on Tarangas of Rawalnath an Panavai. Thus their marriage Shivalagna takes place.[117]

Salient Features of Devaski of Avasaras:

A custom of applying 'Kaula' or Prasada to idols of deities is in vogue in this region, Grains of Rice or Petals of Flowers rendered wet by water are applied to right and left sides of idols. Number of grains of petals varies from five to nine etc. at different places.[118]

Prasadas of left and right side are interpreted or taken to be as signifying lack of favour (negative reply) and favour (favourable reply) respectively. Prasadas of eyes and feet are differently interpreted; hence a sort of technique of this *Kaul* or Pasada is developed.

In the devaski of Avasaras, when a doubt arises about the nature of Kaula due to external factors, Some error in applying Kaula and prediction made by Avasara is verified by Prasada. Therefore, at some places there is a custom that whatever is foretold by Avasara and endorsed by Prasada is to be followed:

The detail and thorough study of Devaski of Avasaras will throw light on the religious history of this region. It appears that the people of Mahar caste were the earliest settlers on the soil of this land. Devaski of Vausa originally belonged to them. People who came to settle afterwards in this land must have organised later Devaski continuing that line of tradition. Pan and Bela drum of Avasari Devski is beaten by Mahar. No Devaski rite is complete without presence of a Mahar. Therefore, in villages Mahar is called Gaonkar 'Thorle Gaonkars' is another name of Mahar. Besides Mahar, Gurav, Gawada, Sutar and Madval are included in Devaski. As a matter of fact all castes have been accommodated in Devaski This organisation and re-organisation of Devaski reveals the spirit of co-operation, accommodating all and assimilation of all sections of the society. This spirit is the very foundation of popularity of the village.

Notes and References

1. Bhat, Maharashtra Dharma, pp. 84, 97-99.
2. Sardesai (ed) Aitihasik Patra Vyavhar, Ls. 387- 446.
3. Vad, Peshwa Diary, Vol. 3, para – 5.
4. S.P.D., Vol. 33. L. 401.
5. Avalaskar (ed), Angrekalin Patra Vyavhar, p. 16.
6. Choksey, Economic life in the Bombay Konkan, p. 82.
7. Ibid.,
8. Ibid.,
9. Kunbis are the descendants of pure Shudras, they are smaller, darker and more slightly built than the Deccani Kunbi, see Ratnagiri Gazetteers (old series), p. 121.
10. Agris literally gardeners. They are found along creek bank Alibag and Pen. Some of them are Mithagaris, Salt-makers and tillers of the Salt, Rice lands, (Kolaba Gazetters old series) p. 51.
11. They supplied fighting men to the former pirate chiefs. They are strong and fine looking some of them are cultivators, a few money lenders and most own cocount trees or are engaged in liquor trade Ratnagiri Gazetteers, (old series), p. 124.
12. Apte, op.cit., p. 65.
13. Avalaskar, Angrekalin Ashtagar.
14. Choksey, Ratnagiri Collectorate, p. 190.
15. Kolaba Gazetteer, (old series), p. 169.
16. Ratnagiri Gazetteer, (old series), p. 188.
17. Choksey, op.cit., p. 83.
18. Ibid, p. 84.
19. Khobrekar, Shinde Konkanchya Itihasachi Sadhane, Ls. 3, 4.
20. Ibid, L. 162.
21. Ibid, L. 65.
22. Wanderer Jogi had a dispute with his Jatigot. To get verdict he appealed to the Mahalkari. His appeal was heard and was reconciled. He was asked to pay Rs. 3/- to the Government as expenses of his appeal.
    Avalaskar, Nagao, Arthic Va Samajic Jeevan, p. 91.
23. Deccan Commissioner Files (Marathi) Ruaml 151, Pudka & 1 & 5.
24. Ibid., Pudka 12.
25. Ibid., Rumal 149, Pudka 4.
26. Ibid., Rumal 153, Pudka 9.

27. Ibid.,
28. Ibid., Rumal 151, Pudka 21.
29. Deccan Commissioner File (Marathi), Rumal 149, Pudka No. 1.
30. In these communities re-marriage of the widows are allowed by the Jati Panchayats and they are performed with the help Brahmins according to Jati customs, see, Deccan Commissioner Files (Marathi), Rumal 150, Pudka 11. Documents Nos. 10.
31. Ibid.,
32. During the Angre's regime crimes were brought before the Mahalkari and decisions were given by the Mahalkari office which were binding, see
Avalaskar, Nagav, pp. 89-94.
33. Deccan Commissioner Files, Rumal 152, Pudka 12, Rumal 153, Pudka 7, 9, 12, 15, Rumal 154, Pudka 5,8 and 10.
34. Deccan Commissioner File, Rumals 149 to 154.
35. Ibid, Rumal 150, Pudka 11.
36. In all 58 castes, wife by Pata-marriage (i.e. re-marriage) was allowed. But this wife did not enjoy the same ritual status as was granted to the wife by first marriage. We find that their children were accorded second preference in confirment of Vatan.
37. Gune, Judicial System of the Marathas, p. 71.
38. Printed instances can be found in Avalaskar's Nagav, pp. 89 to 90.
39. Deccan Commissioner Files, Rumal 153, Pudka 1.
40. Ibid., Rumal 151, Pudka 3.
41. Ibid., Rumal 152, Pudka 12, 14.
42. Ibid., Pudkas 17, 18.
43. Ibid., Rumal 149, Pudka 3.
44. Ibid..
45. Ibid., Rumal 151, Pudka 22 to 25.
46. This signifies the breaking of marriage tie which is called Kadimod. This prevaited among the lower castes. But Kadimod was not as systematically arranged as divorce by the Government.
47. Ibid., L. 123.
48. Ibid., Ls. 154-177.
49. Lieut. Dowell's report of 1829.
50. The Bombay Gazetteer - Ratnagiri District, p. 137.
51. Purandare, Purandare Daftar, Vol-III, No. 46; Poona Akhbars

Vol-I, p. 70.
52. Desai, Social Life in 'Maharashtra under the Peshwa', pp. 156-157.
53. S.P.D., Vol-32, Ls. 94-99.
54. Ibid., L. 95.
55. Desai, op.cit., p. 157.
56. Brokghton, Letters written in a Maratha camp during the year 1809. pp. 76-77.
57. Poona Akhbar, I, pp. 80-81 and 91.
58. Parasnis, Kavyetihasa Sangraha, p. 501.
59. Desai, op.cit., p. 158.
60. Maharashtra Gazetteer, Kolaba District, pp. 133-134.
61. Desai, op.cit., p. 159.
62. Peshwa Diary, Vol- 8, No. 713.
63. Purandare, Vol- III, p. 173; Peshwa Diary, Vol -3, No. 251.
64. Forbes, Oriental Memoris, Vol -II , p. 160.
65. Peshwa Diary, Vol -4, No. 275.
66. Ibid., No. 82.
67. Ibid., No. 82,
68. Ibid., No. 82, Ibid, 5, No. 79; S.P.D. Vol- 22, L. 160.
69. Peshwa Diary, Vol -5, No. 124.
70. Ibid., No. 79; S.P.D. Vol -22, L. 160.
71. S.P.D., Vol- 4, No. 31; S.P.D: Vol- 32, No. 192.
72. Chapekar, Peshvaicha Savalit, pp. 157-160. and pp. 103-204.
73. Ibid., pp. 203-205.
74. Vaidya, Vol- II, No. 22.
75. Ibid.,
76. S.P.D., Vol- 32, L. 59.
77. Peshwa Diary. Vol -III, No. 256.
78. Broughton, Letter written in a Maratha camp during the year, 1809, p. 17; Forbes, Oriental Memoris, I, p. 413.
79. Broughton, op.cit. p. 77.
80. Forbes, op.cit., Vol- I, p. 347.
81. Peshwa Diary, Vol -4, No. 181 &Vol -9. No. 130, 133, 135.
82. Ibid., Vol -9, No. 38.
83. Ibid., Vol -3, No. 292, 312, 313.
84. Forbes, op.cit., Vol -II, p. 174.
85. Ibid., Vol -I, p. 348.
86. Forbes, op.cit., pp. 347-348.
87. Sane (ed.,) Kavyetihas Sangrah, No. 331.
88. Forbes, op.cit. Vol -I, p. 347.

89. Sane (ed.,) Kavyetihas Sangrah, No. 331.
90. Ibid.,
91.
92. Parulekar (e), op.cit., part -II p. 21.
93. Ibid., I, p. 55.
94. Ibid., p. 126.
95. Parulekar, Survey of Indigenous Education in the province of Bombay (1820-30), pp. 6-7.
96. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
97. Bhave, Maharashtra Sarswat, Vol- I, p. 73.
98. Ibid.,
99. Ibid.,
100. Parulekar, op.cit. pp. 8-9.
101. Ibid., pp. XLVI - XIVII.
102. Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol- VI, L. 53.
103. Awalaskar, Nagav, pp. 127-131.
104. B.I.S.M. Quarterly, Vol - IIVIII, L. 60.
105. Dikshit - Limaye, Adivarayachi Shri Mahakali, p. 126.
106. Ibid., Maharashtra Sahitya Patrika, 1932.
107. Apte, History of Maratha Navy and Merchant Ships, p. 65.
108. Oturkar - Peshwekalin Samajic Va Arthic Patravyavhar, Ls. 68, 72, 96.
Peshwa Diary, Vol- 6, No. 816.
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110. Behere, Shri Rawalnath and Konkan Devaski, p. 14.
111. Ibid.,
112. Gazetteer of Ratnagiri district and Sawantwadi, p. 120.
113. Behere, op.cit., p. 15.
114. Ibid., p. 18.
115. Ibid., p. 21.
116. Behere, op.cit. p. 20.
117. Ibid., p. 21.
118. Bambardekar, Mathgaocha Shilalekh, p. 75.
119. Dikshit - Limaye, op.cit., p. 20.

Chapter XVI

AGRICULTURE, REVENUE, ADMINISTRATION AND LAND TENURES

Agriculture :

The economic life in Konkan under the Marathas centered round agriculture. After getting full control over the Konkan region, for administrative purposes, Shivaji divided his kingdom into three divisions. These divisions were to be under the supervision of Peshwa Moropant Pingle, Annaji Datto and Dadajipant Waknis. The Peshwa had the region including Kalyan, Bhivandi to Var Ghat and Konkan. Annaji Datto was to look after the region from Chaul to Kopal including Dabhol, Rajapur, Kudal and Banda. Dattajipant Waknis had to supervise territory from Wai to the Tungabhdra River.[1]

In a letter reportedly written by Annaji Datto, thirteen types of soil have been mentioned.[2] In a Yadi, soil which raised paddy has been classified into Awal, Dum, Sim, Cherhum, Bavil, Kharvat, Rahu, Khari, Kadayat and Turvat.[3] In general practice, however, land was divided in Awal, Dum, Sim and sometimes Cherhum.[4]

The land was regarded as mother earth.[5] The cultivation of land by the peasants made it productive. The cultivator was the productive element of the society. In contemporary records the cultivator has been referred to as Kunbi,[6] Munjari,[7] Raya,[8] and Rayat.[9]

Revenue Administratration of Shivaji in Konkan was as follows: Shivaji appointed Sarsubhas of Prant Vasai, Prant Kalyan, Prant Dabhol etc. The Sarsubhedars exercised wide powers in respect of revenue matters. He had the power of fixing the remuneration of the Kamavisdars and the number of their employees, of increasing or decreasing the Rasad (Advance payment) of the Kamavisdars. He had also power of making inquiries into the revenues of their Paraganas, of demanding detailed accounts from them, of granting remissions as he thought fit, and even of appointing or dismissing the Phadnis. The Mamalatdars and Kamavisdars formed an important part of the administrative machinery in regard to revenue matters, and were allowed to enjoy their perquisites and other dues.

After the capture of Konkan territory, Shivaji deputed Annaji Datto to assess the land in Konkan. Under Shivaji the Prants were divided into Paraganas, Paraganas into Tarfs and Tarfs into Maujes. In Konkan, the land is of two kinds viz., the Jirayat lands (dry lands) and Bagayat lands (wet lands). In the Bagayat lands, usually fruit trees including coconut trees were planted. According to Jervis[10] the Nangar (plough) method was used in the Dongar (hilly) areas. In the plough method, the lands were assessed on the basis of number of ploughs required for a given piece of land irrespective of the location of the land and nature of the soil. At that time, every year assessment was carried out by the Government officials with the help of Paragana officials, the village officials and village people. One such assessment of Revenue of Chaul mamala was finalised by Moropant Pingale, Prime Minister of Shivaji, by taking into consideration the loss caused by various reasons to the Paddy.[11] The people of the region hesitated to agree to the assessment arrived at by Moropant Pingle. They demanded that the assessment be fixed by Annaji Datto,[12] whose decisions they would abide by. There upon Moropant issued stern warning and enforced the assessment fixed by him. In the Konkan, main yield of the land was rice and coconut. In the Dabhol Subha, Annaji Datto estimated the yield of the land and fixed two fifth of the produce as the Government share. This was according to Sabhasad. But Rayat brought to the notice of the Government that the Government share fixed was more than just and the estimate should be arrived at after Nazar Pahani or Eye Estimate. Annaji Datto agreed to this and reduced the Government share from fifty thousand coconuts to twenty thousand.[13] In the year 1676 December, Moropant Pingale, Shivaji's Peshwa and Narayhan Shenavi came to Chaul to examine the accounts and complete the settlement of revenue administration. In the year 1677 Shivaji imposed the revenue laws and his system of administration on the Konkan region.

Annaji Datto, in charge of survey and assessment work in Konkan, wrote a letter to Deshmukh, Desh Kulkarni, Mukadam and Patil of Tarf Sangmeswar in Taluka Ratnagiri in 1678 and ordered these officials to make tours of every village. These officials were to classify land, note the crops raised and after making proper inquiry, fix the revenue. They were to send their detailed reports to Annaji Datto. Annaji Datto further communicated to the officials that he would personally survey three villages in three different regions, namely hilly, marshy and with black soil. The assessment of Annaji Datto was, therefore, based upon the survey made by the

hereditary officials alongwith Government servants. Dr. Balkrishna has, therefore, rightly described Annaji's settlement just by the people.[14]

Generally red soil has been found in the Konkan region while the barren land was called worqus, the salty soil near the coastline was called as Kharaput.[15] The life in Konkan under Shivaji centered around agriculture. In Konkan, land is made ready for sowing by the end of April and the seeds are sown in small beds to be planted in wider areas after the first heavy showers. In Konkan, Rice and Nagali were the main crops. Linseed, Til and Tag were produced largely in the Ratnagiri district which was utilized by cultivators for making ropes and cord.

Principles of Assessment :

Assessment was always based on Pahani or actual inspection. Shivaji fixed the government demand at two-fifth of the produce in kind per bighe.[16] Annaji Datto had fixed the rent of thirty-three per cent of the gross produce, but Shivaji afterwards demanded a consolidated rent of forty per cent, when all the taxes and extra cases had been abolished.[17] The assessment varied according to the quality of land and the type of crops raised. The variations in assessment according to the quality of land can be understood from a letter belonging to a later period. The black soil was assessed at two maunds per bigha,[18] and the Bagayat land which raised grains was assessed at five maunds per bigha.[19] The average assessment for the barren land was one and a quarter maunds per bigha.[20] Even the Jirayat land, it appears, was divided in Awal (superior), Dum (ordinary) and Sim (inferior) and was assessed accordingly. The Awal Jirayat land, the Dum Jirayat land and the Sim Jirayat land were assessed respectively at thirteen, nine and about five maunds.[21] Vasad or uncultivable waste lands were usually excluded when a village was assessed.[22] Before making the assessment the Peshwa Government sent survey and inspection parties in the village and paraganas frequently. Till the completion of survey work or inspection, the Peshwa Government paid Amin and Karkun rupees eight each per month.[23]

The practice of Nazar Pahani or eye inspection existed in Malik Ambar's system. He took only arable land into consideration to fix the average yield. In the revenue records for assessment, the following three categories are mentioned (1) Land held by one person (2) Land held by two persons (Dumala) and (3) Land given to religious institutions. Then after deducting the above land the rest of the Khalsa

land had been estimated for the assessment. Shivaji accepted and adopted Malik Amber's system which lasted for many years till the end of the Maratha period.

Shivaji introduced new measurement which was called Shivshahi Kathi: five cubit and five fists long. He continued Bighas as a unit for measuring land. This scale was adopted by Todarmal and Malik Amber previously. The table given below was adopted by Shivaji.[24]

25 fingers	=	1 cubit
57 cubits	=	1 Rod
20 Rods	=	1 Paud
20 Pauds	=	1 Bigha

The assessment was, therefore, known as Bigoti or Bighoni because the Bigha was taken into consideration for assessment. Shivashahi Kathi was five cubits and five fists long i.e. 114.035 English inches.

Major Jervis, the well known critic of Maratha land revenue system, explains that though Shivaji made the rent of the land fifty per cent of the gross produce (बटाई), he did not collect the same in practice. The land in bighas were assessed more moderately and measured less than what they were actually in possession. Shivaji instructed his officers that they should not accept cash in lieu of commodities as far as possible.[25]

The main features of Shivaji's settlement were :

1 - New Bigha
2 - New measurement of Shivashahi Kathi.
3 - Classification of land taking various factors.
4 - Aim of well being of the peasant and removal of intermediatries.
5 - Implementation of Tankha Rakba.
6 - Option of paying rental in cash or kind.
7 - Moderate land tax.
8 - Emphasis on the cultivator to love his land.

During Sambhaji's time, Kalusha sought unlimited power over the entire Konkan. Kalusha did not follow Annaji's system and he raised the taxes. They were levied by rough methods. The evil of farming the whole territory was started by Kalusha. The new untrained officers were appointed and the Districts were farmed out for half the amount of the produce. For six years, this grievous practice was continued till Kalusha was caught with Sambhaji at Sangameshwar.

Besides rice and cereals, the Konkan lands are noted for their garden cultivation. The Konkan is famous for coconuts and the betel

nuts. These two have occupied about 95 percent land of Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts. Urid and black gram is sown all over the Konkan. Til, val are also sown in Konkan.

"The Principles adopted in rating garden lands were more complicated. The trees were counted and money rate applied to each fruit-bearing tree, the aggregate of such rates being the assessment of the garden. To obtain the cash rate per coconut tree, a certain quantity of coconut was fixed as the Government share. The quantity was commuted into a cash rate as fixed prices; what those prices were it is impossible to say. We have a scale of rates for garden produce in 1775. The jack tree was paid at one anna per tree; a pan-creeper at 12 annas per 100 plants; toddy-producing trees one rupee per tree; coconut palms from 50 to $2^1/_2$ nuts according to the quality of the tree; and Supari paid from $2^1/_2$ seers to one-eighth of a seer according to the quality of the tree."[26]

During the Peshwa regime mango trees in bagayat lands, it was laid down, should not be assessed separately. Mango trees belonging to Patils and others should be inspected when they bagan to bear fruit, and taxed at the rate of rupee one per thousand fruits.[27] The Government charged different rates for different lands and crops. The villages in Taluka Neral were assessed after the usual / inspection in 1772-73.[28]

In 1767-68, land of Balambhat Godbole, a villager of Chambharli, in tarf Tungantan of Prant Karnala was charged at the rate of rupees five, annas two and half per bigha.[29] Baggayat land was assessed at the rate of rupees ten per bigha.[30]

The Maratha Government demanded ten maund rice per bigha from the land-holder of Tarf Wasi and Pen in Paragana Sanksi.[31] Sometimes the bagayat and jirayat lands[32] were assessed equally by the government for the improvement of agriculture.

The rayat of Rajapur did not posses any grain and, therefore they were allowed to make cash payment at the rate of rupees fifteen per Khandi.[33] Naro Keshav of tarf Nanamaval and Ponmav also requested the government that a part of the arrears of land revenue in kind may be allowed to be paid in cash.[34]

In the B.I.S.M. report different rates were charged for different crops and pulses during the period of Tulaji Angre (1744-54).[35] Rice was charged at the rate of Rs. 20 per Khandi, Naghiat Rs. 18; Wari at Rs. 13.33; Till at Rs. 50/- Chawali Kadve and Kulith at Rs. 30, Til (black) Rs. 48.01, Pawate, Mug at Rs. 40 per Khandi. Similarly, the assessment was fixed at the rate of five maunds per Khandi in kind.[36]

For one Khandi of grain produced, the assessment was five maunds. The assessment, therefore, was in the proportion of one-fifth of the produce, as usually twenty maunds made a Khandi. After some time it was assessed in cash by the Government[37] at per Khandi rate : Rice at Rs. 17; Wari at Rs. 15 and Sawa Wari at Rs. 12 per Khandi rate.

The Patil and Kulkarni of Mauja Rajapur complained to the Peshwa Government that the Kamavisdar made heavy collections in Mokasa Babti and Sardeshmukhi and due to the drought, the whole village suffered.[38] The government laid down that collections less than the usual collections be made and steps should be taken to see that land was properly cultivated.[39] The Patil had the judicial powers in the village. He tried to settle the disputes among the villagers amicably. If the dispute could not be settled among the parties, the Patil summoned the Panchayat to settle the dispute. The disputes regarding the boundaries of the village were settled by the Patil. The Panch ordered the Patil of the village Balapur to walk over the old boundary with cow's hide on his head and also to stand an ordeal for fifteen nights.[40] Afterwards, the boundary as shown by the Patil was confirmed. It was the duty of the Patil to bring land under cultivation in the village even when it was burnt and plundered by the army.[41] The Patil and Kulkarni were held responsible for the amount of revenue to be collected from the village.

Warqus or Donger land were assessed by the hal or plough and not by the bigha.[42] The assessment probably depended on the number of ploughs used.

Two types of assessment were made by the Government. One was the assessment according to the quality of land, and the second was, assessment according to the crops raised.

In Konkan rates for rice changed from place to place. Rice crops at Kharepatan and Poladpur villages were assessed at the rate of ten maunds per bigha for superior land and eight maunds per bigha for waste land. At Devruk the rate was at seven and half maunds per bigha.[43]

Collection of Revenue

Land revenue was collected twice in a year: once after the rabi harvest in May, and secondly after the Kharif harvest in October. Revenue was collected in kind and in cash also. The revenue officers were fully responsible for any mistake made in the collection of revenue. Shivaji laid down that the Karkun should collect revenue according to the production of each crop. They should see that the rayat was in no way troubled by Jamindar, Deshmukh and Desai.

This was an improvement over the system existing under Nizamshahi and Adilshahi when the entire rayat was under the thumb of Patil, Kulkarni and Deshmukh.[44]

Shivaji controlled corruption in the revenue administration. He warned the Subhedar of Prabhavali Mamla[45] that he should not appropriate anything for himself. He should be loyal to the state and should not be interested even in a stem of vegetable. The officers should never extract more that what was due from the cultivators.[46] Revenue officials collected the revenue in kind from the cultivators at the time of harvest. It was laid down by Shivaji that it should be stored properly and sold at proper time. The revenue officials were directed not to press cultivators for the arrears and to fix the rates of assessment in accordance with the condition of crop.[47]

Encouragement to Cultivators

Shivaji encouraged the cultivators in natural calamities like famine, flood and scarcity and also at the time of movement of the army. He always strove for the well being of the cultivators and the improvement of agriculture. He provided all necessary facilities to the cultivators e.g. cattle, seeds, money and agricultural implements.[48] Sometimes cultivators received money from the government not only for agricultural operations but also for their maintenance. Sabhasad mentions an order of Shivaji by which rayat newly coming to the village were to be given cattle, grain and money for seeds. Shivaji endeavoured to protect the cultivators from the tyrannical exactions of the hereditary officials.[49]

He tried to bring uncultivated waste land under the plough. The newly cultivated land was assessed at gradually increasing rate. It was the usual practice that the cultivator who brought waste land under cultivation, should pay one twelth of ruka per bigha in the first year, one fourth ruka in the second year, one half in the third, three-fourth in the fourth, four rukas in the fifth, eight rukas in the sixth, and one rupee in the seventh year and finally the regular revenue should be collected.[50] These concessions in assessment were, thus, for seven years. When lower rates of assessment were laid down for the cultivator there could be a year when crop would fail (Nukasan Sal). The amount for that year was deducted from the total revenue demand.[51] If a cultivator came in difficulty at the time of the payment of revenue, the amount of revenue and government dues were reduced.[52] Shivaji ordered the Subhedar of Prabhavali Mamla to visit each and every village in his region and collect the farmers together. The Subhedar, Shivaji ordered should help cultivators who had no

bullocks and plough and grain by providing all the requirements for raising crops and grain from the subsistence of cultivators. The Subhedar was not to charge any interest on the amount thus advanced to the cultiovators.[53]

Tagai :

The practice of tagai existed in Maharashtra in the Pre-Peshwa period. It was continued under the Peshwas. As pointed out by Dr. Sen the practice of tagai served two purposes. It supplied rayat the necessary articles at the time of scarcity and famine and at the same time saved them from the clutches of the moneylenders. He has given a couple of examples of tagai in the second half of the 18th century.[54] It may be mentioned that the practice of tagai existed in the first half of the 18th century. The earliest reference was of 1741-42 when Subhanjirao Eurnkar of Rajmachi fort was ordered to give ten Khandies of rice to two villages namely, village of Tambas and village Khadpe in Prant Kalyan.[55] Tagai was also given in cash[56] (1743-44). When Naro Ramachandra communicated the failure of crops in the year 1753-54 and that the rayat had nothing to eat, the Peshwa Government upon his suggestion gave three hundred khandies of rice, nagli, and wari from prant Kalyan and Bhivandi.[57]

In the Rajapur prant tagai amounting to 500-600 Khandis was given before 1747-48.[58] Similarly, in view of scarcity of grain and consequent poverty, the government advanced grain to the rayat of Rajapur prant Van for the purpose of seeds.[59] The rayat in the taluka Chon in prant Kalyan suffered due to the military activities of the English. They had to leave their villages as their houses were burnt.[60] The government felt that the rayat would plant seeds if they received tagai. It, therefore, sent an order for the payment of tagai in cash and grain to the officials to the Manals.[61] In 1797, two hundred village-men were paid tagai in cash.[62]

Recovery of the Tagai :

There was the practice of recovering tagai after a year of its payment by the government. When the villagers of Tambus in tarf Need were paid ten Khandi of rice, it was laid down that the next year they should return it at the rate of 150 per cent (that is 50% more than it was given to them).[63] Sometimes the rates of return were 175% and therefore, it became difficult for the rayat to repay the tagai. When such a request was made in 1747-48, the Peshwa government gave concession and ordered the repayment of tagai at the rate of 75%.[64]

Similarly, after the payment of tagai, there was failure of crop in Kasba Govale and, therefore, the government ordered not to make a demand of tagai in the current year. It was to be recovered next year.[65]

Similarly, the cultivation in taluka Anjanwel was discouraged by the heavy government revenue resulting in the reduction of bagayat land. It was, therefore, proposed in 1774-75 to increase land under cultivation by different methods. Even in places where land was covered with rocks and no trees or grass grew, it was proposed to break the stones and by spreading soil brought from elsewhere over it, the land was to be brought under cultivation. In such a case half of the land was to be given Inam to the person who brought land under cultivation and the remaining half was to be exempted from the revenue for twenty years. After twenty years, the revenue was to be increased gradually for the next five years and at the end of five years full assessment was to be collected from the peasants who turned rocky land into cultivated land[66] Similarly, the salt land was to be reclaimed in taluka Anjanwel. One fourth of the land was to be given in Inam and out of the remaining, one third part was to be exempted from revenue for a certain period which was to be decided by the amount of money and labour spent upon it.[67]

In case of land where trees like Coconut, Betelnut and Undani were raised, no revenue was to be taken from the planting of trees for eighteen years in the case of Coconut, fifteen years in the case of Betelnut and in the case of undani, ten years. After the completion of the period, the revenue for Coconuttree, Betelnut tree and undani tree was to be four annas, one anna and three annas respectively.[68] This was necessary because these trees did not give fruits immediately and required some years to bear fruits.[69]

Due to the movement of the army, the crops in the fields and family of the cultivator suffered. In such circumstances, the cultivators left their villages and cultivation was rendered impossible. The Government induced new cultivators to settle down in such villages by exempting them from house tax and land revenue.[70] By 1739, the Marathas came into sole possession of the Konkan. The revenue policy of the Marathas was based on the principle of securing the prosperity of the taxpayer.

Recovery of Land Revenue :

The Patil was responsible for revenue collection. As elsewhere in the Deccan so in Konkan when the time for collection came, the Mahar called the rent-payers to the village Chawdi where the Patil

held his office. Mahar's duty was to watch the fields, to keep cattle, to carry out the Patil's orders, and to act as porter. Before the introduction of the farming system of revenue in Konkan by Bajirao-II all revenue district officers such as Mahar, Patil, Kulkani, Sarhavaldar, Jamenis, Deshmukh, Deshpande were hereditary. The duties of these officials are explained in brief. In Konkan some places Kulkarni was the accountant but at many places there was a Talati or village accountant. He had charge of eight to ten villages and was paid from Rs. 120 to 180 a year. It was his duty to visit each village every month, to see to the people's wants and interests, to furnish accounts to the Kamavisdar and to give each landholder an account showing his dues and payments.[71] The Patil came next in importance. His duties were to report new settlers in his village, to stimulate cultivation, to help in the rent settlement, to gather the village rental and to pay it to the Kamavisdar's office. He was vested with the powers of the police officer and it was his duty to settle disputes and protect the ryot from oppression. His emoluments varied from place to place. In Kalyan taluka, he got two-thirds of the proceeds of the five- percent charge on the village revenue. In the coastal tracts, he was paid in land from half a bigha to ten or even twenty bighas.[72]

Kulkarni :

In the contemporary records Kulkarni has been called as Gaonkulkarni.[73] Along with Patil, Kulkarni was an important person who had duties and rights in the village. Documents like the sale-deed, mortgage-deed and Kowlnamas regarding the watans in the village were to be written by the Kulkarni. While writing these documents the Patil was to be given the information and the Patil probably attended the meeting when the documents were written. The Patil was also to take Kulkarni in confidence in the administration of the village. The collection of the revenue and the expenditure on account of village were to be done by the Patil and Kulkarni unitedly.[74] The Kulkarni was to write the complaints made by the parties to a dispute. He was to get some amount of money as his fee. As has been already noted, the Patil and Kulkarni were held responsible for the collection of revenue in the village. In case they failed, they were sometimes kept under confinement till the payment of amount on account of revenue.[75] After deducting the government dues and miscellaneous expenditure in the village, the remaining amount was to be shared by Patil and Kulkarni.[76]

Deshmukh and Deshpande :

The traditional duties of these officials as existing under Shivaji

continued under the Peshwas in Konkan. The Deshmukh and the Deshpande were in charge of district and supposed to be the friends of the rayats, and were to encourage the cultivator. In 1760-61 the rayats of prant Rajapur were in a state of consternation on account of disturbance created by the Sidi and, therefore, their lands remained uncultivated. The Jamindars (Deshmukh and Deshpande), Khots and Patils, therefore, came to the Huzur at Poona and prayed that the land of the province might be inspected and that assessment should be levied for that year according to the findings in the inspection.[77] The cultivators were given concession according to the request of Deshmukh and Deshpande.[78] They were also to keep a register of all new grants of transfer of property either by the government or by individuals. They were used as a check on the Mamlatdar, and no accounts were passed unless corroborated by corresponding accounts from them.

Sarhavaldar :

In Konkan, Sarhavaldar was appointed by Peshwa incharge of Mahal or Tarf. He was connected with revenue matters. Tarf Anjanwel in 1785 was under Laxuman Ballal Sarhavaldar and the duties of Sarhavaldar were laid down in a document.[79] The Sarhavaldar should be one of the officers sent to settle the **Jamabandi** of the taluka or any inquiry connected with it. No revenue or account matter should be disposed of without the advice of the Sarhavaldar. Any reduction in the revenue was accepted only on the recommendation of Sarhvaldar. He also assisted the judge in deciding the judicial cases.

Jamenis :

During the Peshwaship of Madhavrao the First, the office of Jamenishi was entrusted to Balkrishna Hari and his duties were elaborated in a document.[80] The records of the inspection of Jirayat and Bagayat lands by inspecting officers, should be laid by them before the Jamenis. It was the duty of the Jamenis to fix the revenue demand after such an inquiry and then to report the matter to the **Karbhari**. The Jamenis should receive all revenue accounts and watch the closing of all the accounts. He was to carefully note the collections and arrears of the revenue. He had authority to increase the revenue of the village and to grant remission in the revenue for a few years. The orders for the recovery of arrears from village were to be issued by the Jamenis. The **Kowls** for the abatement of revenue were to be issued by the Jamenis. A **Khatavani** (ledger) showing the amount received and the amount due from each village was to be got written by the Jamenis from the daily ledger of the Fadnis. The duties of the

Jamenis in the matters of octroi have been specifically laid down in a document of the year 1786.[81] The Jamenis was to fix the amount of octori to be levied under the orders of the Mamlatdar and in the presence of the landholders. When the octori was given in monopoly, the draft agreement was to fix the amounts to be collected from the traders. These amounts though written by the Jamenis, were to be endorsed by the Mamlatdar and Majumadar. Similarly, the Kowls given to the traders were written by the Jamenis, but they were to bear the seals of Phadnis, Majumdar and Mamlatdar. All the matters of revenue, like Jamabandi, survey, income and arrears were to be handled by the Jamenis. The government gave strict orders to the Karkuns serving in the office of Jamenis to obey the orders of the Jamenis. The Karkuns who did not follow the orders of the Jamenis were to be transferred. The Jamenis, therefore, seems to be a very important small officer at the tarf level.

Kamavisdar and Mamlatdar :

A significant change in the revenue system seems to have been introduced by the last Peshwa. This was the introduction of the Makhta system by which fixed amount of money was taken as the revenue of the pargana. Officials holding the Makhta or monopoly are referred to in the contemporary Marathi records.[82] Under the farming system of revenue the stipendiary officers like Kamavisdar and Mamlatdar became revenue contractors and the chief power in the village was in the hands of the body of men called the Khots.[83]

Malpractices of Mamlatdar and Kamavisdar :

A number of governmental orders are available in our records, which reflect upon the malpractices of these officials. Sometimes the Mamlatdar used to send swars and plunder the villages in the pargana. The understanding between the rayat and the officials like Mamlatdar was necessary for the good administration of pargana. When the rayat complained to the government about such officials, steps were taken by the government to appoint officials who would be acceptable to the rayat.[84] The Kamavisdars and Mamlatdars sometimes followed corrupt practices. As the Kamavisdar of mamla Rajapur made heavy charges on the rayat and in view of the shortage of rain, the village was reduced to poverty. When Patil and Kulkarni complained to the government against Kamavisdar, the government changed the Kamavisdar ordering the new Kamavisdar to see that lands in the village were properly cultivated.[85] In a similar, case Sadashiv Raghunath Ghanekar collected an additional amount of rupees twenty five thousand in the year 1771 but this amount was not

shown in the accounts. The government, therefore, ordered an inquiry regarding the income from the different villages, the arrears and the tagai given.[86]

Land Tenures in Konkan :

Khoti, Dharekaris and Upris

Under the Peshwas there were three classes of villages (1)Khoti villages (2) Peasant held Dharekari (3) mixed Khichadi i.e. part rented and part peasant held villages.

The Khoti tenure was existing in Konkan from the 16th Century till 1949 when it was abolished.

A definition of the word Khoti in Molesworth's Dictionary* is renter of a village; 'a farmer of land or revenue; founder of the customs, also a contractor or monopolist.' Khot had a hereditary right to collect rent and pay it to Government. Alongwith the responsibility of collecting revenue the Khot also enjoyed customary honours, privileges etc., which are explained later. The Sanads and documents found in the Peshwa Daftar are printed in the Bombay Government Selection entitled "Papers regarding the Proprietary Rights of Khots in the Ratnagiri District in the Bombay Presidency."[87] They show that the Khots' rights extended over all the things in the village, not as an actual holder or occupant or owner but as a Watandar, whose main business was to encourage cultivation, collect rent, and pay it to Government. From these Khoti Sanads, a reader can infer that the grant of Khoti was not regarded as alienation of important State rights just like hereditary gaokars in Sawantwadi, or Patels in the Deccan, there were hereditary Khots in Konkan. The collection of rent for Government was their principal business and was a common feature of these Watans.

Now, we know about the existensce of Khots in India. The term was used in Northern India at Delhi and the Doab. Before Alauddin Khilji's rule at Delhi the men of highest stratum among the peasants were called Khots, Muqaddams and headmen. The term Khot remained in use in the Doab until the middle of the sixteenth century.[88] It had a longer survival in Gujarat and the Deccan.[89] During the rule of the Khiljis, they levied a cess of their own on the villagers. As a result, some of the Khots became prosperous enough to ride horses, wear fine clothes and even eat betel leaf.[90] Alauddin prohibited the Khots from levying any cess and forced them to pay the full land tax on their cultivated lands; he also levied Ghari on every horse and Chari on every head of milet cattle; They were vigorously supervised. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq (1321-26) exempted them from paying tax on

their own cultivation and cattle.[91] During the time of Firuz Tughluq, all restrictions on them were abolished and the Khots became rich, having horses, cattle, and sufficient food-grains in their houses.

As stated in the Revenue Department unpublished Volume,[92] the first introduction of the Khots in Konkan took place in 1502 A.D. In that year Mustapha Khan was deputed by Usuf Adil Shah, the 1st King of Bijapur, to administer the affairs of the Subhedari of Dhabhol in Konkan extending from Savitri River to the Southern boundary of Salsee. By many of the Kowls, the Desais, Kulkarnis and Deshpandes of that period were confirmed in their Watans. This shows that these offices were in existence even before that time. In order to satisfy this useful class of revenue employees, the Bijapur Government thought it necessary to recognize them. The documents, It runs thus: such and such person, Desai or whatever it might be, having accepted the offer of the Government and notifies all his claims, is confirmed in his Watan. In the year 1514 we find that Khoti of two villages were confirmed on one Krishnaji Keshav and his son Gopal Krishnaji Sardesai of Saitwde Mahal.[93] There is also a Kowlnama issued by the Bijapur King to Anantnayak Bin Narnayak Desai, about Khoti of Bankot in 1553, asking him to persuade Rayat of the Village to come back and resettle in the Village by giving remission in the taxes.[94]

It is also noticed in the **Mavalankar Gharanyacha Itihas** that the Khoti Inam of the Village Kalwade, Pere Visapur and Walwali were granted to Desais before 1586 A.D. By the Government order of 4 February 1659, the Chaugulas and villagers of the village Kalbani from the Pargana of Jalarabad of Kolaba District were instructed to continue the Khoti of the village and strive for its prosperity.[95] Khoti Sanads found in the Peshwa Daftar for the period 1693 to 1818 are listed in the Government selection mentioned above. From the gists of the Sanads therein, it is understood that in the year 1693 a village of Walwati in Taluka Chipulun was granted in Khoti to Hari Krishna Deshkulkarni[96] Watandar. In the year 1737, Bhikaji Mahadik and others were granted Mauza Nirbade of Taluka Chiplun in Khoti in order that they should ensure and encourage cultivation. The grantees were asked to induce cultivators to settle in the village, increase cultivation and continue regularly to collect the rent at a rate prevailing in the Mahal. It was invariably the practice of the Peshwas and their predecessors to communicate the issue of Sanads of Inams or Watans to Villagers.[97]

Another document in the selection shows clearly that Khoti meant nothing more than that of collection of Government revenue and its payment to Government.

In the Konkan, Khots were treated by the Peshwas as Village servants just as the Patels and Kulkarnis in the Deccan.[98] Like Patels and Kulkarnis, the Khots had salary in cash,[99] land or both, attached to their Watans[100] and lastly during the time of the Peshwas, in Watani Khoti Villages, lands were given away to persons other than Khots either in (1) Kauli or (2) in Inam.[101] So also Khots, Mukadams and Patels were regarded as officers having the same duties to perform and the same responsibilities to bear.

In 1727, by the order of Chhatrapati Shahu, two villages viz: Mauza Azar and Bardi were granted to Govind Thakur Desai and he was asked to render Khoti services.[102] Chhatrapati Shahu issued orders in 1734 to the Deshmukh, Deshpande and Sarkhel Sambhaji Angre asking them to allow to continue enjoyment of Khoti Villages of Pathardi, Wadoli, Shivane, Pachal and Watul to the respective Khots on the old tenure.[103] In the year 1748, Khoti Watan of Bijapur, was granted to one Balaji Dhonddeo Khandekar and his descendants hereditarily and was asked to live happily, enjoying Watan Haks, cesses, and inam according to ancient custom.[104]

It is a general belief that the Khoti system was prevalent in Ratnagiri Dist. Collector J. A. Dunlop, Collector Reid, Leiut. Dowell and Captain Wingate who had worked on the origin and nature of the Khoti system have endorsed this notion while dealing with Khots in Ratnagiri District. But there are some documents regarding Khoti, in the Peshwa Daftar, Pune in the Dakshin Konkan Prant Ajamas Rumals 650 to 655. From these documents, we understand that there were Khots in Kalyan Prant of Thana District and in Kolaba district also during the Peshwa regime. In support of the above statement, a gist of some documents which are found in the Peshwa Daftar rumal Nos. 650 of 'Konkan Prant Ajmas' is given below.

By the order of 28th August 1752 of Pant Pradhan Gun Balaji Bajirao, Mahajani Desai of Mithgavanekari was granted Khoti Watan of two Villages of Prant Kalyan and Bhivandi.[105] In the Rozkird, dated 3rd December 1752 of Pant Pradhan, Village Tambheri Taluka Bankhal in Prant Kalyan was given in Khoti to one Naro Ramchandra.[106] In the Dafata Patra of Pant Pradhan dated 9th February 1754, two villages were granted as Khoti Inam to Jivaji Ganesh of Prant Rajapur.[107]

In the letter of 10th November, 1755 issued to Ragho Ganesh Kose by the Pant Pradhan, it is stated that Khoti of the four Villages of Borivali, Nalandhe, Kashele and Egavali was removed from Havaldar and given to him (Ragho Ganesh Kose) with all rights to

collect revenue according to usuage and credit the same to the Government.[108] In 1763 Khoti of Mauze Tural, Taluka Sangmeshwar was restored to Antaji Bhikaji and others.[109] Pant Pradhan issued orders to the servants of Kolabkar Angre for collecting revenue of Village Talegaon, Tarf Waji of Kalyan Prant at 2 annas per rupee according to assessment rates from the Khoti Bagayati land.[110] The Khots were given the Sanads granting in some of them, proprietary rights and in some the right for the use of words Jamin Jumala and the grant of such rights.

We have noticed Khots in Kalyan Prant of Thana district and in Kolaba district. We also come across in the Government Selection that in the Ratnagiri district about 1273 Villages were managed by the Khots during the Peshwas' time. They are classified as follows[111] :-

1.	Pure Khoti	969
2.	Khichadi (Mixed Dhara and Khoti)	134
3.	Pure Dhara held by Khots	170
	Total Villages managed or manageable by the Khots	1273

These Villages were in the five northern Talukas of (1) Dapoli, (2) Khed, (3) Chiplun, (4) Ratnagiri and (5) Sangameshwar. The Khoti was stronger in the northern Talukas of Ratnagiri District than in the Southern Talukas of Ratnagiri.[112]

Duties of Khots :

The Khots had to collect rent, to make Pahani (appraisement of crops) and other administrative business for which he wanted control over the existing village establishment. Pant Pradhan issued orders on 28th October 1760 that Khoti of the following villages in Taluka Herdi, Prant Kalyan, Dahivali, Talwade, Selu, Kodivale, Birdale, Malegaon and Bokar was granted to Appaji Shivaji and Awadhutrao Adhikari. They should carry out the Khoti work by appointing a clerk.[113] A letter from Pant Pradhan dated 18th November 1760 stated that the Village Bamhanas of Pargana Nasarapur Prant Kalyan was removed from the then Khot and was bestowed as Khoti Inam to Vedmurti Balambhat Nitsure from whom Sadashiv Chimanaji should realise revenue and rent of the village according to rates prevalent in the past.[114]

Pant Pradhan issued following orders on 2nd December 1760 to Ramaji Mahadeo. "There was Khoti dispute of village Karajgaon, Tarf Panchnadi of Taluka Kalyan between Balaji Keshav Bedekar

and Damodar Krishna Karmarkar which was referred to Pant Pradhan. It was found that during the regime of the Angre, Khoti of the Village was with Dabake and after the territory was taken over by the Sarkar, the same Village was assigned to Bedekar as Khoti for realising revenue etc. While during the regime of the Angre, Dabake and Karmarkar were Khots of the Village. The same Village was given as Khoti to Bedekar Subsequently. Therefore the dispute which started was resolved by the Sarkar at Pune. Pending the decision of the Sarkar, revenue of the Village should be realised and credited to Government by keeping the Khoti in suspense.[115] Pant Pradhan issued an order dated 7th January 1761 that the Khoti of Village Tebhari, Tarf Vankhal of Prant Kalyan was bestowed on Laxman Keshav Daftardar. He should realise revenue according to the rates prevalent in the Prant.

In the following two documents, Khoti is referred to as service Watan. A letter dated 10th Samvat 1165 Suhur (1764-65 A.D.) was addressed to Moroji Shide, Namjad of Taluka Ratnagiri, by the Pant Pradhan in which Khoti Watan of Mauza Kapadgaon, Taluka Hathkhamba was granted to Bhatavadkar and separate Nivadapatra was given to him won title. The addressee was asked to get all the work and duties pertaining to Khoti Watan of the aforesaid village performed by the said person.[116] Another letter given below regarding ancient Khotship and Hardi speaks of Khoti as a service Watan.[117] "Govind Thakur Desai, Tarf Rajapur, held the ancient Khotis of Villages of Ozar and Hardi. His servants who performed the Khoti for two to three years claimed as Mirasdar Khot of those Villages. On verification, the servants' claim was found to be false. It was ordered that (Govind Thakur Desai's) both villages should be made over to him, and the service of the Khot should be taken from him."[118]

The following instances show that Khots used to receive Mushahire (emoluments[119]).

Mushahira (emoluments) to Khots, Kulkarnis and others were as follows.[120]

Rs	A.	P.	
729	11	6	Kulkarni Mushahira
177	15	3	Khot's Mushahira in different villages.
907	10	9	Total[121]

The accounts in another documents of Suhur year 1176 (A.D. 1775) show that the Khots were given Mushahira in cash as well as in land.[122] The following documents show that the Khots all over the district used to receive service remuneration.[123] "By letter 26 Jamadilakhar (11th July 1779) Khots of Village Itane, Tarf Kelshi

represented to the Huzur that as the Khots of the different Villages in the aforesaid Prant had to undergo trouble in connection with the colletction of revenue of Villages, their Mushahira Salaries or service remuneration had been fixed out and that they have no fixed allowance. On their representation the Swami (Peshwa) fixed the allowance payable to them for their service at Rs. 10/- per year from that year and Sanad was issued."[124] We also understand from the following memorandum which is given in the Selection that the Khoti Villages were subject to quinquennial surveys. "Memorandum at Taluka Ratnagiri under Mahipatrao Krishna, 16, Rajab, Bhadrapad, year 1175 (A.D. 1774)."[125] A Makta of the said Taluka had formerly been given out for five years. It expired in the year 1175 (A.D. 1773). Therefore, in the current year, the Makta should be given out from the Subha for five years after making all estimate of the rice and garden cultivation and the cash assessment over the Villages, reducing where it is less and increasing where it is more, so that on the average there should be no falling off from the amount of former years.[126]

The former quinquennial period having terminated, a new quinquennial period should be commenced by the Subha. Kauls should be granted for lands which are fallow and should be brought under progressive assessment. In introducing a Makta improvement should be effected as far as possible in the above manner. The Maktadar should go at the village and give intimation to the Huzur through the Sir Subha. That the Khoti villages were subject to periodical surveys can be proved from the budget inspection memorandum (झाडा अजमास) of the Taluka Vijaydurg in charge of Gangadhar Govind[127] (1787 A.D.).

The Makta of the Mulki Jamabandi at the above mentioned Taluka was given for five years from Arba Sabain (1773) to Saman Sabain (1777) to Maktedar. The Pahani which was to follow the expiration of that term, has not taken place. Collections are being made from year to year according to the total (बेरीज) of the last year of the Makta. Therefore, Pahani should be made during the previous year and settlement of the Jamabandi be effected.

We also know from the records printed in the Government Selection that in the times of the Peshwa, the jungle gurk (waste) lands were granted on **Kauli** terms in the following villages belonging to Khots:[128]

Name of the Village & Year			**Name of the Village & Year**		
(1)	Chinchghur	1780	(2)	Kalbaste	1796
(3)	Mabhale	1798	(4)	Bhoste	1805
(5)	Takaoli	1809	(6)	Main	1810

(7)	Durgvadi	1813	(8)	Satere	1813
(9)	Bhingloli	1813	(10)	Tadil	1814
(11)	Nilwane	1815	(12)	Sadye	1815
(13)	Hedli	1816	(14)	Besgnar	1817

We have seen that Khoti was a service Watan and the Khoti villages were subjected to quinquennial or septennial surveys. During the time of the last Peshwsa, when the Talukas were farmed out by him to the Mamlatdars, the villages in turn were farmed out to the Khots by the Mamladar. It is also mentioned in the Selection that the following villages to which salaries in cash or lands were attached were pure Khoti.[129]

(1) Gondnale, (2) Aware, (3) Ranwi, (4) Rawari, (5) Kurchumle, (6) Bhile, (7) Palpene, (8) Kalbaste.

Captain Wingates in his "Report on Survey and assessment for Ratnagiri"[130] gives two classes of Khots (1) the Watandar Khot and (2) the Sarkari. The latter were liable to be at any time displaced by Government. The Watandar Khots, on the contrary maintained that they possessed hereditary indefeasible right and that they cannot be dispossessed. During the last days of the Marathas, depending on this point, they frequently pawned and sometimes sold their offices. Capt. Chaplain found from the Peshwa records that during the last days of the Peshwa, the Khots were the farmers of the Village revenue[131] and that they officiated as heads of the Villages.[132]

It is mentioned by Capt. Chaplin and Lt., Dowel in their reports on Khoti land that the most of the Khots were Brahmins. My study reveals that during the early period of Maratha regime there were Bhandari Khots, Desai Khots, Maratha Khots and Brahmin Khots. The Brahmins came in by sale and mortgage and by grant in later times especially during the Peshwas. The Watandar Khots were liable at any time to be dispossessed by Government. A Khot naturally had no herediatary right to his Khotship, and unless protected by specific grant or Sanad he was not sure of the possession of his village. It is also believed that the Khoti was only prevalent in Ratnagiri District. From the documents mentioned above, we understand that Khoti was prevalent in Kalyan Taluka of Thana District, in Pen and Panvel Talukas of Kolaba District.

It is also seen from the documents that the majority of tenants in Konkan had paid in kind; the general rate was half the crop, though higher rents were known, with the Khots paying the land revenue. This system was of course particularly advantageous to the Khots when prices were rising. It is noticed from the documents that Khots had proprietary rights. During the last Peshwas' time the Khot is

seen collecting a special remuneration called "Khotfaida",[133] (खोत फायदा), which amounted to two or three times the land revenue, from quasidhararis and occupancy tenants and he continued to exact free labour (Wethbigar) from his tenants, excepting former owner cultivators. The result was that due to oppression and demands on him by the Khots, the peasants used to migrate in search of a more liberal landlord. In these poor districts of Konkan, the peasant was made poorer by the Khot's exactions. This is in contrast to the early attitude of Musthfa (1502) where the tenants were encouraged to settle in land by giving privileges to them.

According to Capt. Chaplin, Khot used to exhibit every year in his account what might have been levied from the Rayat so that Government should not know what they actually paid nor whether the Khot might gain or lose by his farm.[134] In order to improve the position of the tenant, the British Government enacted the Khoti Settlement Act of 1904 and finally Khoti was abolished in 1949 by the Government.

Dharkari Tenure[135] :

There is another kind of tenure, which is called Dharkari tenure. Dharkaris were also the first settlers of the south, who had participated in the work of rehabilitation and bringing the land under cultivation. They had to pay the rent for their proprietary land which could not be taken away in any case, even if they did not pay the tax.

The land would remain in their names as their own holding and when they would pay the arrears, they would soon get the land in their possession. They did not have to do any Government service, so they may be called first class tenure but inferior to Khoti tenure. In the first class tenure, we have to put Gaonkars, Patils and Kulkarnies also. They had Mirshi lands and they had more Inam lands as they rendered the services to the Government.[136] In the Konkan, we see very few Patils and Khots who were performing their duties at many places. In one survey, out of 1337 there were 607 Khoti villages which had no Patils.

Inam Tenures:[137]

There is Inam tenure here, who had gained lands in lieu of some services to the temple or other places. They could enjoy the land as far as they work for the Government. But the holding remains in their names, for generations together. Because their sons were also doing the same work, the Inam land was continued for years together in their names. But they could not sale or mortgage land as Dharkaries could do without the consent of the heirs. Though legally one could not mortgage the Inam land as it was not their proprietary holding,

we see in many cases that it was frequently mortgaged in terms of possessor's life.

There were three kinds of tenures in Konkan.

1 - True Mirasdars - originating from the ancient monarchs.
2 - Mirasdars originating from Bahamani Kings.
3 - Dharekaris, who were the descendents of the first settlers of the soil, who were the real cultivators and rent paying persons.
4. Inamdars, who got lands in lieu of service to the State.

Urdhelis : [138]

The last description of tenure is that of the Urdhelis or Uparis to whom the land was either leased on Ukti i.e. oral agreement or without any agreement, who had no rights as to proprietors, who went from place to place in search of work. Sometime the farmer did not allow them to remain at the same place for many years together for they would ask for the right. As there was a deficiency of adequate labour, the cultivator seems to attract them by conferring on them more and more attractive terms. So we can just imagine that though Urdhelis were tenants at will, they did not often change their fields because both the farmers or the landlords and the labourers were dependents on each other in those days. It was not customary to remove them from their jobs except for severe crime. They had their half share in the yield and hence they were called Urdhelis. We come across several sources that show that these Urdhelis, Dupatekaris and Tipatekaries had no right on the land although they served there for years together viz. in the registers of the Pahanis (survey) at different times made in the district of Konkan shows that the field belonging to Dharekaries were entered in their own name, whereas those belonging to Khots and which were tilled by Urdhelis were entered in the names of Khots.[139] This tradition prevailed in the Maratha period and ended when Khots' rights were abolished by the then British Government.

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Chapter XVII

AGRICULTURAL TRADE AND COMMERCE

The crops raised by the peasants were taken to the market for sale, if they were in surplus to their needs. The grain, food and vegetables were taken to the Market by the peasants. Similarly, the artisans used to bring their finished products to the market. Such markets were Known as **Peth**. Many of these Peths were traditional and continued to exist in the eighteenth century. In addition, new Peths were established with the permission of the Government in order to serve the requirements of a market. The people usually took the initiative in establishing a Peth. This was because the people knew clearly the requirements for the establishment of a Peth at a particular place.

During the Peshwa period the traditional Peths in Konkan continued to function in the 18th century. In an undated letter it is mentioned that market of Kalyan had been burnt. In order to construct the shops an amount of rupees five hundred to seven hundred was to be given as tagai to the merchants who wanted to open shops at Kalyan.[1] The Peshwa Government provided protection to the merchants, Shete and Mahajan and asked them to continue their commercial activities at the places without fear from any one.[2]

Officials of the Peth :

Shete, Mahajan and Kotwal were the important officials of the Peth. They performed certain duties in the Peth and also enjoyed certain rights and perquisites.

Duties of Shete Mahajan :

The Watan of Shete and Mahajan had been separately mentioned in some contemporary sources. But both the Watans were usually held by one person. Moreover, in the published sources of the period, there is no distinct mention of the Watan of Mahajan. It is, therefore, possible to study the duties of the Shete and Mahajan jointly.

The duties of Shete and Mahajan were in connection with the Peth. They were to lay the foundation of the Peth, to attract the merchants to the Peth and look after their normal functioning.[3]

The Vani, Udami and Baniya, that is, the merchant community in Maharashtra used to bring agricultural produce and other articles to the Peth for sale. The Shete was supposed to classify them with the help of four other merchants.[4]

In case of dispute among the merchants, the matter was referred to the Panchayat consisting of other merchants and Shete Mahajan. The decision taken by this Panchayat consisting of Shete and Mahajan was final.[5] The fines were to be paid to the Government by the merchants through the Shete.[6] The merchants coming from outside were exempted from the use of weights and measures approved by Shete.[7] It is interesting to note that the Peth had a plan or a map. It is mentioned that the map of Peth was authenticated by the Shete.[8] The titles or deeds of house and open space in the Peth bore the witness of Shete.[9] The Watan of Shete seems to be hereditary in the family. When Sat Shete died, the Government ordered his son Govindji to hold the watan of Shete. One Parabshet was asked to work as **Gumasta** under Govindji and an amount of rupee five thousand was collected from the Parabshet for his appointment as **Gumasta**.[10]

Rights and perquisites of the Shete, Mahajan :

Shete Mahajan enjoyed different rights and perquisites in the eighteenth century. There are eight to nine documents, which have enumerated the rights and perquisites of Shete and Mahajan. An analysis of these documents reveals to us the interesting nature of the rights and perquisites of Shete and Mahajan. These rights and perquisites can be classified into daily, weekly, annual, ceremonial and miscellaneous.

Daily :

The Shete and Mahajan were to get five to ten betel leaves from the shops in the Peth. Of the betel leaves coming in the Peth thirteen betel leaves per one hundred were to be taken by Shete and Mahajan. They were also to take five Betel nuts from the merchants and one log of wood coming to the Peth in addition to a bundle of fodder. From the Teli (oilman) they were to take nine takas of oil.

Weekly :

One or two Betel nuts, nine takas of oil and small quantity of tobacco for the Chillar (that is earthen pipe) were taken from the merchants and sometimes meat was also taken from butcher, every week.

Annual :

Shete and Mahajan collected every year different finished products and articles from the members of professional castes in the

Peth. The practice of collecting these articles varied from place to place, depending upon the prosperity of the Peth. Generally, the Chambhar and Mochekari supplied two and one pair of shoes respectively. The weaver was to give them a **Pasodi** and **Adpal** (a pieces of rough and thick cloth), Sorkhemi Sormomin and Bajaj (these communities manufactured certain types of clothes) were to give every year a **Sela, Pagota** and Sari. Similarly, the Momim was to give sari. The tailors were to give at the time of Diwali five **Cholis**. Just as Burud (Bamboo maker) was to give five **Supas**, the Patharwat was to supply one stone grinder. One maund of firewood was to be given by wood-seller and one goat by the Dhangar. From the **Sanagar** one sanag and from the Dhangar one or two **chavales** were collected. In an unpublished receipt it has been mentioned that the Karkhana received a quarter of maund of thread. It is not known whether the Karkhana was run by the Government or a private person.

Ceremonials:

At the time of festive ceremonies like Dasara, Diwali and Holi they were to collect a quarter of a **Ser** of wheat and rice from every shop. They collected different articles from the shopkeepers and artisans in the peths. At the time of festival they were to collect one Ser of milk from the Gavali. It is also mentioned that at the time of Diwali the Shetes and Mahajan were to collect one rupee from Vani and Udamis of the peth. A quarter of Ser of jaggery or gur was collected from every shop at the time of each festival. In the peth Shete and Mahajan enjoyed the priority rights at the time of Pola, Holi and other festivals. At the time of Dasara and Diwali, Maneri, Atar, Kasar and Karchi were to give articles for the use of women like bangles, comb and petty articles. At the time of marriage, the Shete and Mahajan received a coconut and a Sela. They were to get free service from Sutar, Kumbhar, Parit, Nhavi, Otari and others etc.

The Shete and Mahajan enjoyed certain perquisites. They were exempted from house tax and jakat. They were also given Shirpav by the Government and could get free forced labour. They also collected Zenda Patti (flag tax) from the merchants.

Miscellaneous :

The Merchants brought agricultural produce to the Market out of which the Shete and Mahajan could collect a handful or in other case a small share as their special right. Such rights as mentioned in the Shete's documents are numerous and they affected the peasants and their produce. The Shete and Mahajan used to collect handful of vegetables and grain out of heap of vegetables and grain kept in the market for sale.

In addition to this, the vegetable and grain, sugarcane, oil, salt, fruits, clothes, fodder and spices came to the peth on head of the men (**Sirbhar**, meaning head-load) or on the back of oxen, or donkey and in bullock carts. A share of the agricultural produce depending upon animal used for transportation and the type of the produce, was taken by Shete and Mahajan. A few examples can be given to explain this practice. The merchants brining the vegetables to the peth at Kasba Wamori in 1769-70 had to give ten Sers of vegetables per bullock cart or one Ser of vegetables per bullock-load to the Shete and Mahajan. Out of the lemons and mangoes brought on the back of the bullock, twenty-five lemons and ten mangoes were taken by Shete and Mahajan. One Ser of dry fruits and grapes were taken from the bullock-load of dryfruits and grapes. In the same market there was a practice of Shete and Mahajan taking two Sers of grains per bullock-cart and one fourth of the Ser per bullock-load.[11] A Ser and a quarter of every bag of jaggery, tobacco, copra, and turmeric were collected by Shete and Mahajan. Similarly, from vegetables, onions, garlic which came to the market, a small share was taken by Shete and Mahajan One, two and five sugarcanes respectively out of head-load, a bullock-load and bullock cart-load of sugarcane were taken by Shete and Mahajan. Similarly, in the same proportion fodder was collected in the market at Kolaba.[12] However, in another market at Ratnagiri one, five and fifteen bundles of grass were collected from head-load, bullock-load and cartload respectively.[13] Similarly, betel-leaves amounting to twenty-five, fifty and one hundred out of the head-load, bullock-load and cart-load respectively of betel-leaves were taken by Shete and Mahajan. Similarly, a share of cloth, salt, wood, fish coming to the market was taken by Shete and Mahajan. If one hundred pieces of cloth were sold in the peth, one piece of cloth was to be given to Shete and Mahajan. The Shete and Mahajan were to collect two rupees per bag of grain leaving the peth. From this, it appears that in addition to rights and perquisites in relation to the commodities coming in the peth, Shete and Mahajan enjoyed certain income on the sale of cloth and the grain leaving the peth.[14] The watan of Shete and Mahajan was sometimes shared by different persons. The Shetepan of Kasba Khandala in Mahal Chambargonde was shared by the Mukadan Patil, Chaugle and Jagtap. This ultimately led to a conflict among the sharers of the Watan. The matter came before Angre, who, after proper inquiry, decided that the right and perquisites of Shete should be shared by Mukadam Patil, Chaugle

and Jagtap in the proportion of fifty, twenty-five and twenty-five respectively.[15]

Weights and Measures :

In a Yadi of the year 1788 there is a reference to weights and measures, used regularly in the market. The Kali Map meaning the measuring unit for grain were Adoli, Nidve, Chipate and Adpav.[16] The basic unit in the measurement was the Ser. Two Sers made a Adoli. A quarter of a Ser was a Nidve. A Chipate was a quarter of a Ser and Adpav was one-eighth part of Ser.[17]

In the above mentioned Yadi the weights are also mentioned. They are Pasari, Ser, Adser, Pavser and Adpav. Here, as in the weights Ser was the basic unit. Pasari consisted of five Ser and Adser (Ad means half) was half a Ser.[18] Pavser, was a quarter of a Ser and Adpav was one-eighth part of a Ser. In addition Man (maund) and Payali[19] were also the units of measures. A Payali consisted of four Sers. The maund was a unit of varying amount and usually sixteen Payalis made a mund. The weights and measures though they were not of uniform nature, were officially recognised. There is a mention that the Kotwal used to collect Batchapahi. The fees regarding Batchapahi varied from one to two Annas in case of Adoli and Pasari.[20] The maund usually consisted of sixteen Payalis when it was called **Sololi** Measure (**Sola** meaning sixteen). Sometimes it consisted of twelve Payalis when it was called **Baruli** measure (Bara meaning twelve).

Prices of Grain :

It was the practice to send Nirakhanana from the peth to the Government. The Nirakhnamas were sent from bazaar Ratnagiri to the Peshwa on February 17,[21] and February 22,[22] 1771. These Nirakhnamas give information about the prices of grain, vegetables and fruits. They also communicated the quantities of different fruits, vegetables and sugarcane that came to the market for sale on the above mentioned dates.

The prices of grain varied from place to place and according to condition prevailing at the time. There are a number of references in the contemporary sources about the prices of grain, vegetables and other articles. With the help of these lists an attempt has been made to analyse the prices of important grains like Jowar, Rice and Bajri.

Prices of Jowar :

In 1719-20 at Kolaba, the pries of Jowar are given as fourteen Payalis per rupee.[23] In another list of 1747 the prices of Jowar in the bazaar with the Maratha army has been referred to as four Payalis per rupee.[24] In the army of Shankaraji Phadke in 1746 the rate of

Jowar was four and a half paylis per rupee.[25] In the peace time the prices of Jowar tended to be less than those prevailing in the army camp. In 1767, for example, the rate of jowar was eighteen payalis,[26] and the next year it was sixteen payalis for one rupee.[27] Due to the political instability and the movement of the armed forces the prices of jowar rose very high. In a reference of November 1871 it has been mentioned that three payalis and a quarter of jowar was sold for one rupee.[28] In 1802, the rate of jowar was five payalis per rupee.[29]

Prices of Rice :

The prices of rice varied according to the type, especially the size and flavour of rice. Generally speaking, the fine variety with flavour had the highest price. There are a number of references in the available sources, which throw light on the changing prices of rice in the eighteenth century. Like Jowar rice was also sold in payali. At Sagunasi on the southern bank of the Krishna river the rate of rice in 1719-20 was fourteen payalis per rupee.[30] In an account note coming from Dabhade Daftar the rate of coarse and small rice had been given. The rate of small rice appears to be more than that of coarse rice.[31] In the bazaar accompanying the military camp, the rate of grain used to be very high. In a report from the army of Hindurao Ghorpade the rate of rice has been given as two payali and a quarter per rupee.[32] The rate of new rice appears to be comparatively higher than the rate of old rice. Eight Khandis and a half of new rice was priced at rupees one hundred seventy-five. For the same amount old rice totaling about eleven Khandis could be purchased.[33]

The rice was collected from the peasants by way of revenue. Such rice was resold to the rayats. Moroji Shinde in charge of Janjira, Revdanda was asked by the Government to sell one hundred Khandis of old rice at the rate of rupees twenty-five per Khandi.[34] In a letter written to Vishwanathbhat Vaidya on 5th January, 1751, the price of rice has been given as eight payalis per rupee,[35] and Krishnaji Vaman purchased 10 payalis of rice at the same rate. Very rarely the rice was sold by weight. There is one reference of the year 1755-56 wherein it has been mentioned that rice was sold at the rate of eight Sers by weight per rupee.[36] The irregularity of rainfall made life difficult and the prices of grain rose very high. It has been mentioned in 1769 that due to lack of rain the rate of rice was two and a half payalis per rupee.[37] In an account Yadi of 17 October 1771 it has been mentioned that the price of one half maund of Kanod rice was rupees sixteen.[38] In a report sent from Pimpalgaou, pargana Chandwad in 1801, the rate of coarse, fine and Ambemohar (a type of rice having pleasant

flavour) rice have been given. While the coarse rice sold at four payalis per rupee, the fine rice at the rate of two payalis per Chandwad rupee. The Ambemohar was costly. It sold at the rate of one payali and three quarters for one Chandwad rupee.[39] Due to the failure of rain in 1805, the prices of different grains and other articles rose very high. Ordinary rice, it appears, was sold at the rate of two payalis per rupee.[40] In this year the rate of all grains and other articles rose very high and it has been pointed out that many people in Poona died because of the shortage of grain.[41]

It can be thus seen that prices of rice in the eighteenth century fluctuated according to the natural and military factors.

Prices of Bajri :

The prices of Bajri during the period under study were affected by human and natural factors. Of the human factors, the military movements and camps greatly affected the prices. The references regarding the lowest rate of bajri in the eighteenth century belong to the year 1764 and 1794. In 1764, the bajri in the military camp was sold at two and a half payalis for one rupee.[42] In a letter from a military camp on 27th February, 1794 the rate of bajri has been given as four and a quarter payalis for one rupee.[43] Due to the shortage of rain bajri was sold at the rate of two and a quarter payalis for one rupee.[44]

The prices of bajri fluctuated from ten payalis to sixteen payalis in the eighteenth century. In 1719-20 the rate of bajri was ten payalis per rupee.[45] The change in the rate of bajri according to the change of location, can be seen in the same year when bajri was sold at Masur at the rate of five and a half payalis per rupee.[46] In 1743-44 at Pargana Parner it was one maund and three payalis per rupee.[47] Bajri appears to be cheap in 1746 when it was sold at the rate of twelve payalis per rupee.[48] A reference about 1767 and 1768 tells us that bajri was sold at rupee fifteen for one Khandi and the next year rupee twenty-one for one Khandi.[49]

Prices of Wheat :

The reference to the prices of wheat occur mainly in the second half of the eighteenth century. The earliest reference is of the year 1746 when wheat was sold at the rate of fifteen Sers per rupee.[50] In 1768 the rate was ten Sers[51] and the next year it was sixteen Sers per rupee.[52] In an account Yadi of Visaji Krishna in 1771 the rate of wheat has been given as rupees two and annas twelve per maund.[53] Out of the price of rupees two hundred seventy-five an amount of rupee one hundred twenty-five has been deducted as bata, thereby

the rate of wheat became rupees one and a half per maund.[54] The price of bata sharply reduced the price of wheat thereby affecting ultimately the wheat produce. In a letter from military camp dated 27th February, 1794 the rate of wheat has been given as eleven Sers per rupee.[55] In pargana Chandwas in 1801 for one Chandwad rupee wheat amounting to five payalis was sold.[56]

Price of Gram :

Gram was considered as an important food for the horses of Marathas. It would be, therefore, interesting to study the price of gram in this period. There are quite a few references about the prices of gram in the published Marathi sources. An analysis of these prices reflects upon the low prices of gram in the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1719-20 gram appears to be the cheapest in the century. It was sold at the rate of twenty-four Sers for ten annas.[57] In 1764 the prices of gram varied between thirty Sers and sixty-four Sers per rupee.[58] In a military camp the prices of gram were very high. In 1736 the rate of gram was twelve Sers per rupee,[59] and in 1764 it was three Sers per rupee.[60] In 1748-49, there is a reference of gram being sold at the rate of thirty-two Sers per rupee.[61] In the Post-Panipat period the prices of gram seem to have increased considerably. In this period gram was sold at the rate of fifteen to seventeen sers per rupee.[62] At the beginning of the nineteenth century the prices rose still higher, when gram was sold at the rate of six Sers to eleven Sers per rupee.[63]

The study of the increasing prices of gram in the second half of the eighteenth century must have made the maintenance of cavalry by the Marathas expensive and during the downfall of the Maratha power in the early years of the nineteenth century the prices of gram again rose high. This must have affected the military and the political developments in Maharashtra.

Prices of Other Pulses :

Tur, Mug and Udid were other pulses which were useful for household purpose. The puses like gram and tur had almost equal prices in 1748-49,[64] when two and a half maunds of pulses of tur and gram were sold for rupees five and annas six.[65] Five payalis of pulses of gram was sold at the rate of thirty-six Sers and pulses of tur at forty Sers per rupee in pargana Parner.[66] Mug and Udid were the pulses used for human consumption. The references about these prices accrue only during the last years of the eighteenth century. In 1794 mug was sold at ten sers and udid at fifteen sers per rupee.[67] In 1817 the **udid** was sold at eleven sers per rupee.[68]

Prices of Milk and Vegetables :

The prices of vegetables, like the prices of other agricultural produce, were communicated to the Government from different places. In 1718-20 onion was sold at the rate of one and a half Sers for two annas,[69] while in 1750, milk was sold at the rate of twelve Sers for one rupee.[70] In 1801, milk was sold at the rate of sixteen Sers per rupee.[71] The names of different vegetables and fruits have been given in the published and unpublished documents.[72] It is possible only to refer to a few of them. In 1750, vegetables were sold at the rate of six to nine paise per Ser.[73] The green vegetables were sold in small bundles i.e. Pendis. In 1749-50 the rate of coriander was nine pies for ten bundles.[74] In 1764-65, one hundred thirty-six bundles of coriander were sold for rupees nine and a quarter.[75] In these lists the fruits that are mentioned are Guava, Lemon, Musk, Melon and Cucumber. They were usually sold by number. For example, the rate of lemon is 1749-50 was one Paise per Lemon.[76]

Prices of Grass and Fodder :

The dry grass and the Kadba, the stem of jowar dried for fodder, were consumed by animals like cows, bullocks etc. The Peshwa Government used to order each Kamavisdar to supply about 50 thousand Kadba bundles to the Huzurpaga. The rate of Kadba of Mauje Kivle in 1787-88 was twelve bundles per rupee. This is the highest price of Kadba. The price of Kadba became high because there was no rainfall in the year (1787-89).[77] In 1802, however, the Kadba was sold at the rate of rupees three and a half to three quarters per hundred bundles. The dry grass was sold in thousand bundles.[78] A paper of the year 1771 shows that the dry grass was sold at the rate of rupees one and a quarter for one thousand bundles.[79] It was rupees three and a half per thousand bundles later on.[80]

Prices of Bullock :

For every major agricultural operation and transportation bullocks were essential. It was labour of bullock that made agriculture possible in Konkan. The bullocks were sold in the fairs and other weekly market.[81] The average price of a bullock was Rs. 10 in 1750-51.[82] Thomas Mostyn, the Vakil of the East India Company at Poona purchased three horses for rupees two hundred seventy and one bullock for rupees twenty in 1776-77.[83]

Imposition and Exemption of Jakat:

It was usual practice to charge Jakat on different agricultural commodities entering into the town. When husked and unhusked rice along with Vari was brought from village to town it was ordered that

for the husked rice the Jakat should be paid at the rate of one rupee per Khandi.[84] There are many references about the exemption of Jakat in certain cases; they also reflect upon the existence of the practice in Maharashtra under the Peshwas.

Naro Pandit of prant Rajapur was ordered in 1749 that the bullocks and buffaloes purchased for agricultural purpose by the rayats be exempted from the jakat for a period of five years.[85] The Kunbis who purchased bullocks as mentioned above were not to pay jakat and necessary order to that effect was given by the Peshwa Government to the Kamavisdar.[86]

After the disturbances, following the battle of Panipat, steps were taken by Peshwa government to re-establish agricultural trade and commerce. In order to develop the market at Poona, rice, salt, and grocery coming from the Konkan were exempted from the jakat. In this manner the government tried to help the peasants in difficulty and promoted agricultural trade and commerce in Konkan. The rice purchased by Karkun and other officials in the Konkan were not to pay Jakat while bringing it to Poona.[87] Pant Sachiv permitted Vishwanath Bhat Vaidya to bring ten kandis of rice from Mahuli to Wai and this rice was exempted from jakat.[88] There are published letters sent by Pratinidhi to the government officials in the Konkan, asking them not to collect jakat from certain persons bringing rice from the Konkan. Rasul Thakur was permitted to bring grain on the back of twenty-five bullocks from different places without paying any jakat.[89] Similarly, the grain brought from the Konkan and Varghat by the Royal family was not subject to jakat.[90] Jaisingh Jadhavrao Senapati was permitted to bring grain on fifty bullok loads from the Konkan; the amount of jakat was to be shown as expenditure on Konkan; the account of Senapati.[91]

Similarly, when Nilkantharao Govind brought rice and salt from konkan to Desh and carried grain from Desh to Konkan with the help of his sixty bullocks, it was laid down by the government that no demand on account of jakat should be made.[92]

In certain critical times the government regulated agricultural trade and commerce by imposing restriction on the movement of grain. Shiubai Chaskar wrote to Chimaji Appa requesting him to prevent grain from proceeding from Desh to Konkan in view of the scarcity in the desh area. The necessary order in this respect was given by Chimaji Appa.[93] The merchants used to purchase rice in prant Konkan and send it to orders of Prant Konkan to forbid the merchants to transport rice to Bombay and Sashti.[94]

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Chapter – XVIII

INTERNAL TRADE OF KONKAN

The Polish Traveler, Dr. Hove, saw near Bombay a grove of several hundreds of coconuts trees planted in straight lines and watered from wells. The inhabitants used to draw 'Toddy' from them and maintain themselves by it.[1] Some of the planters were Bhandaries and some were fishermen of Portuguese extraction. For each of the coconut tree they had to pay the East India Company five rupees a year and so much an acre for the Areca and Betel. For the Mango and Jack, they had to pay nothing. In Thana, Dr. Hove saw the transplantation of the rice plants. This method saved to the planter not only a considerable quantity of seeds, but likewise brought him a triplicate crop.[2] At Limree Dr. Hove saw that cloth was manufactured and it was superior to that of Broach.

At Burka and Tarapur, Dr. Hove found that the Indigo was partly intersown with cotton and on some plantations with Bajery, Jowary and other grain. The lines were divided about 16 inches from each other in which the cotton shrubs stood quite thick and the above mentioned grain scattered between, without the least regularity. Thus they allowed the Indigo to grow for two seasons and generally had three crops a year.[3]

When Dr. Hove* visited Concon (Konkan), he found that on the whole the region was fertile**. The soil produced the finest of teak wood.[4] Dr. Hove, during his tour, visited Fort Victoria from where the Marathas exported grain of various kinds which paid most exorbitant toll to the fort.[5] There are several travelogues of foreigners who visited India which throw a revealing light on the exact position of the people in Konkan and their activities in this country. Chaul which is situated about 30 miles south-east of Bombay was an extremely rich port. It was in 1648 that Shivaji overran Chaul and captured the port known as Mussalman-chaul. Even in 1739 there was a Dutch factory at Chaul. The city of Morro in Chaul was delivered over to the Marathas on 25th April 1741. Chaul was then famous for its trade and commerce. Like Chaul, Cambay was the premier port of Gujrat. Ships used to ply between Cambay and Chaul very often. Ships from Cambay used to go to Chaul with merchandise

and while returning from Chaul they used to bring Coconuts, Aeronauts, Sugar from Palm-Tree, Wax, Spices, Medical Herbs and Black-Wood.[6] There were maritime activities between Chaul and Dabhol and Diu, another port of Gujrat.[7] Silk, Cotton Textiles, Horses, Opium and wheat etc. used to be exported from Diu to the western coast.[8] Opium and Horses used to be re-exported to the Vesteru coast. Though some Opium was produced locally, some opium was also imported from Aden. There was active trade line between Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf Portso, Diu used to import textiles from the merchants of Chaul and Dabhol. If such articles were not sold at Diu , the merchants used to proceed with their articles to the ports in Red Sea or Persian Gulf.[9] The position of Diu was like a transit-port, for the merchants of Chaul and Dabhol. Chaul used to import copper from the Malabar and the Portugal. This copper used to be purchased by Gujarati merchants.[10] Ships from Cambay used to import Betel leaves from Dabhol.[11] It is thus evident from the above details that Dabhol, Chaul, Cambay and Diu were important ports through which brisk trade was conducted in the 17th and 18th century.

In Konkan the Ship-building industry was making spectacular progress and merchant–capitalists were not slow in extending their economic activities. During political disturbances in India between 1740–1780 Indian Raw Cotton export to China was intentionally encouraged so that England's adverse balance of trade with China could be off-set by India's favourable balance. This shift in the pattern of Cotton trade had its effect on the shipping pattern of the port of Bombay as up to now small vessels were found adequate. However, the opening of China market created a demand for large vessels, to stand the strain of long voyage and bulky cargo.[12] In this way, the shipbuilding industry on the Western Coast had to be developed and the trade of Surat shifted to Bombay.[13] By about 1735, the big builders like Lowji Nassarwanji Wadia left Surat and settled in Bombay.[14] By this time, the Bombay marine introduced permits of protection against pirates to those vessels which possessed English passes.[15]

During the Peshwa's time, the industries and trade which were in vogue since the days of Shivaji were conducted without interruption. The self-sufficient villages had various minor industries and trade in the village itself.[16] The village artisans met the local needs of the villagers. In order to allow such artisans a living wage, they were given pieces of land for cultivation or in some cases, part of the produce of the land given to them.[17] Production means creation of utilities, tangible intangible or satisfying a human want and in this sense, village production could be said to have satisfied all local

village requirements.[18] There appears a detailed list of artisans, in Paramanand's Shiv Bharata, who were well known in Maharashtra.[19] From this, we get a clear idea of the industries and occupations which flourished in Maharashtra. This account is also confirmed by Raja Vyavahar Kosha.[20]

Articles made by village artisans, such as shoes, blankets, clothes and articles of wood were also sold in the 'Kasba' Market.[21] The craft of the goldsmith seemed to have reached the Zenith of perfection. Articles of different kinds were made by the Goldsmith. Poets like Paramanand and Samraj give details of this craft.[22] The observation of these poets stand confirmed by Bernier who has tributes to the skill of Indian Goldsmiths; he says, "Among other things, the Indians make excellent Muskets and fowling pieces, and such beautiful gold ornaments that it may be doubted if the exquisite workmanship of these articles can be expected by any European Goldsmith.[23] It has been already noted that there used to be held weekly bazaar in which Cloth, Butter, Betel-nuts, Leaves, Fruits and Vegetables, Coconuts, Meat and several other articles used to be sold at the weekly bazaar.[24] The person who was responsible for the management of such a bazaar was known as Shete.[25] The Shete was given rent free land for his services.[26] When a peth (i.e. permanent bazaar) has established, special exemption in customs and other duties were granted by the Government till it become self-supporting.[27] This was a part of the policy of the Marathas ever since the time of Shivaji and the Maratha Governments such as Peshwas, Raja of Kolhapur, Sawantwadi and Angre in the Konkan followed it carefully. It was the duty of Shete to develop the market. The chief merchant was allowed to collect extra cess imposed on the shopkeepers.[28] He had also to exercise police and magisterial duties.[29] As a member of the Village Council and a Mirasdar, he had a reserved place and a house in the Peth.[30] He had to keep a list of the members of the Market, help Gatpande in the collection of Octroi and obtain the help of local officers.[31] Sometimes a Peth was established by "Sanad" given by the Government i.e. Jijapur Peth established at Pasan in the name of Jijabai. Peths at Rajapur, Jaitapur and Sawantwadi were established in the name of Kings[32] etc. On the admission of new members to the market, list of old and new members used to be made.

It is pertinent to note that a distinction was made between resident and alien members of the Peth.[33] The state was responsible for the protection and patrolling the market place.[34] The merchants were assured full protection to the Peth and in the event of its being raided, the Government promised to give them a chain of gold as

compensation,[35] and this was quite so according to the directives give by Ramchandrapant Amatya. Special efforts were made to see that big merchants came and settled in the capital market.[36] In Konkan there were several merchants of different nationalities such as Portuguese, the English, the Dutch, the French, the Denes.[37] Although there were no good roads in Konkan, there were many water ways specially in the districts of Thane, Kolaba and Ratnagiri. Small vessels used to sail along the sea coast and up the creeks. In the Ratnagiri District, there were many ports such as Bankot Harnai, Deogad, Dabhol, Rajapur, Sangameshwar, Malwan, Vengurla which were famous and busy. The small river Amba used to cover places like Pen and Nagothane. The East India Company had sent Thomas Niceolls to study the utility value of the river in regard to trade and commerce.[38]

The Ox, the Camel, the Horse, the Donkey, the Buffalo, Bullock-carts and Boats were the principal means of transport. The caravans of merchant including several Oxen and Bullocks used to cover long distances and carry food grains.[39] Dr. Fryer had 300 Oxen carrying salt through Naneghat; Sugar used to carried in the same manner. The Donkey, the Buffalo and the Camel were used for similar purposes.[40] Sometimes human labour, being cheap, was hired.[41] In order to carry Paddy, Nagli, Salt and order articles, Boats were used as means of transport.[42] Goods were carried from Konkan to Surat by the Sea-routes.[43] For the purpose of crossing the creeks and the rivers Ferry-boats were in common use.[44] Bullock-carts were the popular conveyance because they could cover distance of about 36 to 45 miles a day for 60 days ata stretch.[45] The Horse, Camel and Ox were useful for riding . Tavernier gives instructions about riding on horse based on his own experience.[46] A French traveler Carro had very bad experience of travelling either by sea route or land route.[47] The English records say that the roads were unsafe and the robbers used to attack the merchants and travellers.[48] If the traveler has a passport from the officer of the King through whose territory, the travel was intended, there used to be no trouble.[49] The hire of a cart per day was generally one rupee.[50] The rates of carts were high because the demand exceeded the supply.[51] The persons hired for security used to charge different rates, [52] Carre gives a detailed account of the way of life of the coolies, their food and habits.[53] According to Dr. Fryer and Travernier, the food given to the oxen by these masters was very poor though Oxen were their real source of their income.[54] It was the business of the Banjaris to keep animals for the purpose of transport or conveyance, and whenever they used to travel for carrying goods, they used to

take their wives and children along with them; occasionally they used to have disputes with rival caravans.[55]

The Travellers found it difficult to make lodging arrangements. Carre found that villages like Paugetra, Khed and Sangameshwar were all deserted, by the people, either on account of some disturbances or superstition.[56] However, there used to be rest houses for travellers in the bazaar.[57] In records of postal services, the government had kept group of messengers who carried letter bags from one place to another. In the reign of Shivaji, a letter from Raigad required five days, to reach Bombay, a distance of 120 miles.[58] Tavernier says that foot messengers used to require more time than that required by horsemen. He described the method of postal service in detail; At the end of every two leagues, there were little huts, where there were runners who were always ready to take over the charge immediately. The first man threw the letters in the huts, the second man collected them carried them to the next stage and soon.[59] A special carrier used to be employed for important letters.[60] In the same way special messengers used to be hired for carrying private letters and if it was a business letter, the wages of the hired messenger used to be paid by the addressee.[61]

From the original sources in Marathi and the Factory Records, it is clear that the Konkan territories were in a flourishing condition and Chaul, Dabhol, Kalyan, Bhiwandi, Vengurla and Pen were famous commercial and industrial centres. Chaul and Dabhol were important ports like Goa and Surat. Other busy centres of Konkan were Dahanu, Tarapur, Kelva-Mahim, Agashi, Bassein (Vasai), Bandra (Vandra), Mahim, Nagothana, Shrivardhan, Jaitapur, Kharepatan etc. Bombay had close commercial contact with Rajapur, Dabhol, Kelva, Bassein and Chaul. The English at Bombay were aware that the Peshwa was able to get commodities from the above ports cheaper than from Surat.[62] Even then Chaul continued to be the most important port in the Kolaba district till the year 1674 when an accidental fire destroyed about 3000 houses of Chaul and most of the inhabitants fled from the island.[63] Silk weavers and horses of Chaul were famous. Chaul used to export large quantities of Indigo, Opium and silk in the 16th century. Chaul was so rich in the production of silk that it used to supply silk to all India including Goa. Chaul silk was classed superior even to China silk. The other articles produced by Chaul were fine boxes, small carved articles and lacquer work.[64] It used to produce 50000 pieces of taffaties a year. Later on Chaul weavers shifted to Bombay.[65] Dabhol was one of the most magnificent and populous marttime places of those parts, full of noble houses, fine buildings, superb temples

and old mosques. The ships of Malbar and Cambay met here and exchanged their commodities. Great caravans of bullocks fully loaded came down from the interior.[66] Even during Shivaji's reign, Dabhol was a famous Port and Ships used to ply between Dabhol and Bombay.[67] Shivaji's vessels used to anchor in Dabhol.[68] Many commodities like Pepper, Sticklaok, Seedlack, Dungarees, Percollas and other coarse stores of clothes which the Company exported to Europe.[69] Like Dabhol, Kalyan was another populous city. It had a very large trade. Goods from all part of Indostan, Golkonda and Coromondel used to pour into Kalyan.[70] Bhiwandi was well known as a trading and manufacturing centre for cloth[71] Kalyan and Bhiwandi were recaptured from the Mughals and the Maratha control on these towns was fully established by 1675.[72] In the district of Ratnagiri another famous commercial centre was Rajapur. According to Ravigton's report, Rajapur was expected to be a great centre of large trade in saltpetre, pepper, calicoes, cotton yarn before long.[73] The French who were established in Rajapur were allowed to trade freely in all ports.[74] The French at Rajapur traded chiefly in Iron and Lead.[75] According to Carre, it is inhabited by Moors, Hindus and some strangers engaged in commerce. It has also some rich merchants whose ships trade in the Red Sea, in Persia at Barsa and with the whole of coastal India.[76] The English had their factory at Rajapur. However, on account of political clashes between the English and the Marathas the factory was closed.[77] The Dutch had a factory in the past at Vengurla which was a busy trading centre.[78] It was then visited by ships from foreign places like Batavia, Japan, Ceylon, Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.[79] Mahad, Kolhapur, Ashte, Chiplun, Pen and Nagothana were rising commercial centres.

The commodities obtained in trade by Bombay from Rajapur, Dabhol and Kelshi, were comparatively cheaper than the same brought from Surat, hence these ports were very important for Bomaby.[80] The English, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Persians and the Muslims introduced different varieties of articles to the trading centres in Maharashtra.[81] Some of the articles were as follows : Foodrains including Wheat, Mung, Pulses, Arhar, Beans, Masur, Blackgraw, Paddy, Varna, Maize, Machna, Til, Peas, Rice of different kinds such as Dal Rice, Teliasar Rice, Mahawas Rice, Khivisal Rice etc. Spices of different kinds including Vermilion, Cloves, Asafoetida, Nutmag, Gallnut, Maceminium, Red lead, Garlic, Onion, Walnut, Ambergis, Pepper, Jaggery, Sugar-candy, Molasses, Ginger, Heritki, Red-pepper, Sandal, Gopichandan, Opium, Cented Oils like Chameli, Mogro, Campa etc., Coconut Kernel, Ghee, Honey[82] etc. In the same way,

cloth pieces of different varieties used to come to the commercial centres of Maharashtra, from different parts of India such as Telangana, Malbar, Vidarbha, Gujarat, Bengal, Ayodhya[83] etc. Another poet Samrag describes, different kinds of cloth popular in Maharashtra They included tafts, Chinatafts, Sela, Kocki, Mahaban, Mungipatan or Gold embroidered Cloth; Musdar, Patav Mahamudi, Muslin, Kad, Pitamber, Sakhalad, Khars or coarse cloth, Purtakli, Astaputli, Ghati, Sereas, Dhotis, Blankets, Godhedi, Pasodi coloured chits, Shawls and other Woolen fabrics, Kinkhab, Khemayat, Handkerchiefs, Caps of Velvets, Yarn, Soaking Cloth[84] etc. Besides these, the customers used to find in markets, fruits such as Watermelons, Coconuts, Jack-fruits, Sugarcane, Lemon, Plantains, Mangoes, Almonds, Vegetables, Cashewnuts, Betel-leaves, Milk, Butter, Fish[85] etc. Among miscellaneous articles, there used to be Shoes, small Boats, Combs, Winding fans, Wooden boxes, Jute, Soap, Carts, Coats, Lanterns, Plates, Copper, Lead, Ropes, Papers, Horses, ox, Buffalo, Sheep, Male and Female slaves etc.[86] Some of these articles were supplied by the French, the Dutch, the English and the Portuguese in India. The East India Company was the principal foreign commercial organisation serving India.[87]

A number of articles were supplied by the East India Company such as Copper, Lead, Iron gunpowder, Guns, Tin, Quick-silver, Sticklack, Seedlack, Scarlet, Broad-cloth, Cloth, Rashes, Coarse cloth, Fine cloth from Portugal, Coloured cloth, Red Cotton Yarn, ropes etc.[88] Copper was mainly brought from Japan by the Dutch and supplied to Maharashtra.[89] The Konkan i.e. mostly the Western Coast, had became a theatre of war during Shivaji's time and it had detrimental effect on trade and commerce, and it went on gradually declining.[90] However, Shivaji's raids had dealt a stunning blow to the trading activity of the East India Company.[91] Being alive to the importance of trade and commerce, Shivaji made special endeavors to encourage them.[92] He did not allow the East India Company to carry goods upcountry.[93] However, he was always willing to keep cordial relations with the English so far as trade and commerce were concerned.[94] The East India Company used to have encouraging treatment from Shivaji in matters of trade.[95] Even so, the Company could not have a large trade in Maharashtra because of the simple living of the people.[96] Shivaji wanted to settle a warehouse of his merchants in Bombay for the disposal of huge quantities of goods lying with him and the Company was anxious to boost its trade in Shivaji's territory by employing this event as a welcome change.[97]

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*. Dr. Hove was a Polish Surgeon. He visited India to ascertain to the volume and veriety of cotton which India could supply to England.

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Chapter XIX

INDUSTRY TRADE AND COMMERCE

In the Konkan region, the major industries are salt industry, ship building, dry fish, Mangoes, Cashunuts, Teak timber, Coconuts and Kathya ropes.

Salt industry in Konkan flourished along the coastline. Salt was produced at Bassein, Pen, Panvel and other coastal places. The salt was produced abundantly and was exported from these places.[1] But in Konkan itself, salt produced had to face competition with that coming from the Portuguese territories. Shivaji wanted to save the home industry of salt from this competition. So he levied a heavy tariff duty on the salt imported from the Portuguese areas. This had a double effect of promoting the sale of indigenous salt by administering a check on the import of outside salt, and also adding to his exchequer.[2] Shivaji was aware of the profits accruing from the salt industry.[3]

Thana and Kolaba Districts contained large tracts of forests with variety of trees. These forests are found on the slopes of the hills and on the hill tops. The most important product of this region was the teak, and the Kolaba teak was rated as next to Malabar teak.[4] The teak timber is extensively used in shipbuilding because it is durable and it does not shrink or corrode. Shivaji could start ship building industry at Kalyan-Bhivandi because of this good quality of timber. Even the East India Company was anxious to get this timber from Shivaji's territories.[5]

The ship building activity during the period 1653-1680 was conducted on an extensive scale by Shivaji. There were in all 45 different kinds of ships or boats[6] and the most important of them are detailed below.

The coastline of the Konkan presented a pleasing picture of gardens and orchards. In the Kolaba district the soil lying near the seacoast, containing marine deposits and a large portion of sand was favourable for garden crops. Irrigated lands both in Des and Konkan areas contributed richly to the growth of gardening. The gardens and orchards of the Konkan were rich in their supplies of mangoes, coconuts, betel vine, areca-nut, palm, vegetables. Gardening was a

source of income to many families in the Konkan. Sant Ramdas has given a detailed account of the gardening in his chapter on the gardens.

The other varieties of trees found in these forests were Amba, Ain, Nana, Hedu, Kalamb, Asan, Savi, Jambul, Sisu, Kinja Pata, Avia, Hirda, Mahua trees, etc. Sant Ramdas has described the various types of trees grown in the forests of Maharashtra.

Amba wood was suitable for agricultural implements, Ain wood was constructional work. Nana wood, being strong, was most suitable for house building, Kalamb was used for light construction work. Asan, Jambul were also used mainly for constructional work. Sisu or Sisam was the finest quality of wood used for high quality furniture. The wood, which was thus not fruitfully used for constructional work or for making implements or articles, was largely consumed as fuel. Bamboos served for building purposes. Baskets, trays of various types and other articles were also made of Bamboo. The Wax, Honey, Lac, Gum were raised in the forest. The forest also supplied spices, medicinal herbs, Avala and Hirda. Leaves of certain trees were used for making Bidis, while others were used for preparing Baskets, Leaf plates, rain-covers, etc.

At the beginning of Shivaji's career, the whole trade in the Indian Sea on the West Coast of India remained firmly in the hands of the Indian ship-owning merchants under the overlordship of the Moghuls and the Sultan of Bijapur. But the Europeans, who appeared on the scene and took charge of the important ports. Dutch had a monopoly on Vengurla. The Portuguese were in charge of Bassien, Cheul, Daman and Goa; the Siddi of Jinjira was in possession of ports in Kolaba district and the British had their factories at Bombay, Rajapur, Karwar, Surat etc. To compete with a foreign naval power even in the form in which it existed in the 17th century, seemed impossible to Shivaji without a navy of his own and Shivaji, therefore wanted to launch a programme of ship-building which he did by surmounting many difficulties.

In fact, the ports of Konkan were in charge of Adilshah of Bijapur. The Portuguese had a peace treaty with Bijapur on 15th December 1638. There are in all twelve articles in the peace treaty. By article eleven, it was agreed between the Bijapur and the Portuguese that all Ships, Crafts and Vessels which should make their voyages from the royal ports of His Highness, the Portuguese would afford good guard against the Malbarese and any other piratical robbers and would a accompany them, giving them full support in all things. Whereas this was so, and it behoaved them to afford fulfillment

to the contract, the said Portuguese would stake the Vessels of His Highness and through consideration of their own danger and that of the robbers, they desisted from undertaking their voyages.

In the subsequent peace treaty between the Bijapur and the Portuguese which took place on 19th December 1642, it was agreed that 'The Portuguese will give free passes to those who wish to travel by sea.'[7]

Capture of Sasti (Salsette) by the Portuguese in 1530 gave them scope for expansion of their power in the nearby territory. Thereafter they brought under their sway Bassein. They started propagating Christian faith too much, so that religious persecution, auctuion and conversion of the Hindus in the Konkan territory formed the issue of conflict between Shivaji and the Portuguese. The whole territory of Konkan where Portuguese were a menace was a part of extinct Ahmednagar Kingdom. Shivaji thought that his right over the territory was stronger than Bijapur. He considered Bijapur Sultan as an intruder by force in Maharashtra.[8] In 1656 Bijapur Kingdom was attacked by the Mughals. Shivaji utilized this opportunity to secure access to the sea. He requested Aurangzeb by his a letter dated 23rd April 1657 to recognise his right to all Bijapuri forts then actually in his possession. Aurangzeb conceded Shivaji's request and allowed him annexation of the port of Dabhol and the territories around it.

After Capturing Konkan, forts built at Birwadi and Lingana, Kalyan and Bivandi were turned into naval bases. Kalyan was also used for plundering the neighbouring territory of the Portuguese. It appears that Shivaji must have started construction of warships soon after he came into possession of Kalyan and Bhivandi on 24th October 1657,[10] since good timber was available at Bhivandi and Kalyan, they become centers of ship building activity and it is believed that Shivaji's several ships were built at these places.[11]

At Kalyan, Shivaji laid the foundation of a modest navy. He utilised the service of the Portuguese in this work. Under the guidance of two Portuguese builders, the work of building twenty fighting vessels was taken in hand. These Portuguese builders had three hundred and forty Portuguese and other workers under them.[12]

In 1656, the naval unit of Shivaji developed to such an extent that the Portuguese were alarmed and the Portuguese Viceroy in a letter dated 16th August 1659 informed his Majesty the King of Portugal that Shivaji had begun to build war ships at Bhivandi, Kalyan and Panvel ports in the District of Bassein.[13]

According to Amatya, Shivaji considered the Navy as an independent limb of the Maratha State. Sovereignty of the sea, therefore, was the first objective of Shivaji's navy.

Between 1657 and 1659, Shivaji had laid the keel of his first ship in the creek of Kalyan. During the next two years, the weak condition of the Konkan drew Shivaji's attention to that region.

After capturing the Konkan coast, Shivaji built many ships for filling out a fleet. The nature helped the growth of Maratha Navy. The coast line of Konkan broken by many creeks offered excellent shelter for ships and the forts built on sea coast guarded them against the enemies. So it was easy for Shivaji to build his own navy,[14] to protect his people from his enemies and provide for the prosperity of the ports.[15]

The Siddi of Janjira was the first naval power with whom Shivaji came into conflict. Shivaji's naval unit and land forces attacked Siddi. The forts of Tala, Ghosala and Rairi belonging to Siddi were captured by Shivaji. He also made vigorous attempts to capture Janjira without success.

Shivaji also came into contact with the European powers which were trying to establish themselves in the Indian ocean. These European powers were jealous of each other and did not fail to invoke the help of Shivaji to destroy their rival in the field. The Dutch offered their help to Shivaji to capture Janjira in return for Shjivaji's help to capture Bombay for them.[16] But Shivaji was not sure of Dutch help.

The Portuguese considered that the Indian Ocean was their private thoroughfare and that no one else could use it without their permission. Ships not in possession of the Portuguese papers could use the sea at their own risk. The permits or 'Cartas',[17] were sold at fairly reasonable prices but they imposed the most Vexing restrictions upon the ships that carried them. They were not permitted to carry Christian slaves and were forbidden to visit any ports belonging to the enemies of the Portuguese. They were also forbidden to trade in the items of merchandise which the Portuguese chose to declare as their monopoly. Ships found without their Carts could be, and often were, seized by the Portuguese, and made to pay heavy indemnities or at times, sunk. The ships of the Indian Rulers, including those of Mughal Emperor, were not exempt from the obligations of carrying the Cartaz. The Portuguese retained the right of searching all ships; any Portuguese sea captain could accost a passing ship and demand to search it. Indian Merchants did not dare to set out on their voyages unless they wee given their Cartaz by the Portuguese. Besides the

Portuguese, the Siddi was very powerful and the sworn enemy of the Maratha State. He carried fire and sword every where on the Konkan coast. To prevent his depredations on water and to starve him out and acquire sovereignty of the Arabian Sea, Shivaji built up a navy.

Shivaji wanted to extend his power to the sea by the conquest of Janjira and build ships for fitting out fleet. The ships were of the following types : Gurab, Tarandi, Galvat, Dubare, Sibade, Pagar, Machwa, Vabhor Tirkati and Pal. Four to five hundred ships of these different types were built and five to ten lakhs of Rupees were spent for the purpose. The navy was manned with Warlike people.

The Europeans (Topikars) at the sea were struck and their ships and cargo were plundered and the spoils brought to the treasury. The heavy expenses of the navy were paid out of these spoils.

Shivaji built at Rajapur three masted vesssels and employed them in sea trade with Muscat and other places. Shivaji's Subhedar of Kalyan had built a large vessel for trading in salt with Muscat and Mocha.

According to Chitraguptas, an early chronicler, Shivaji built himself a navy of 640 ships, 30 of these were Gurabas Coast. Some 300 were of middle size and the rest were smaller country craft, varying from Shebads, Pals, Machawas, Jugs and others.

Construction of Forts :

In order to guard the long coastal strip, Shivaji thought of building coastal forts. He constructed a fort on the hill at Danda Rajapuri. He also selected various peaks in that territory and fortified them. During the period 1653 to 1680, Shivaji constructed coastal forts of Vijaydurg, Sindhudurg, Suvarnadurga and Kulaba.

These coastal forts, played important role in the history of Konkan. By starting work of building forts, Shivaji gave employment to the people in Konkan. Forts were an adjunct of the navy. In times of war they served as supply depots and places of refuge to the navy. The warships replenished their resources from these fort depots. Every year during the rough season, the Maratha navy anchored in some good port overlooked by a fort. Thus Shivaji's influence was established at sea.

From the medieval times, Konkan became famous as manufacturing, collecting and distributing center. Which attracted foreign merchants to its coast. The Konkan was divided among the two Muslim powers. The north Konkan was in the possession of Nizamashahi and the south Konkan was ruled by Bijapur Kingdom. The Portuguese started their settlement on the konkan coast by

capturing Goa in 1510 from the Bijapur Kingdom. Subsequently the Portuguese secured firm footing on the western coast especially in the districts of Kolaba and Thana. They extended their authority over Goa, Diu and Daman. The port of Chaul had a Portuguese settlement on the coast but the city and its adjacent villages remained in the possession of Nizamshahi kings till the year 1625 A.D. and served as one of the highest commercial industrial centres of Nizamshahi Kingdom during the 16th and 17th centuries of the Christian era.[18] The two Portuguese travellers Barbosa and Pires who arrived in the Konkan region early in 16th century give us valuable insight into the pattern of the coastal commerce. Barbosa mentions the visits of merchants of Chaul and Dabhol to Diu by Sea.[19] The merchants of Chaul purchased fine Muslins, which they carried to Arabia and Persia for making turbans.[20] At the turn of 16th century Dabhol, Chaul, Cambay and Diu were four important ports engaged in the coastal traffic. With the loss of Goa to Adilshah, the major portion of the sea-borne trade passed into the hands of the Portuguese. The Konkan coast during this period had brisk commercial relations with the Red Sea[21] and Persian Gulf regions and ships used to depart from the Konkan ports laden with goods for Portugal.[22] During the early years of the 16th century, Chaul was famous for its silk, embroidered quilts and cotton stuffs. Thane and Kalyan Bhivandi were also important centres of textile production. The other important port in the northern Konkan was Bassein, which was under Portuguese possession. Towards the end of the 16th century it is mentioned as 'one of the places of most trade in corn and rice on the coast.'[23] It was a centre of ship building industry and major supplies- of timber for the whole region.

Dabhol was the principal trade centre. Dabhol merchants were trading with the South-East-Asia. In 1611, the English East India Company included Dabhol in its scheme of establishing commercial relations with the western coast of India. Middleton visited Dabhol in 1612 and was welcomed by the Governor there.[24] In 1617, Sir Thomas Roe also wrote a letter to the Governor asking him to start trade with the English.[25] Jaitapur and Vengurla were other important ports of the Konkan. Jaitapur was in fact the sea out-let of Rajapur which was famous for its Muslin, Indigo and Pepper. In 1637-39, the first free trades or the 'Interlopers', the association of Sir William Courteen established a factory at Rajapur.[26] The French had also established a factory at Rajapur in 1667. Abbe Carre, a French man passing through Rajapur & Chaul was treated very nicely by Shivaji's men.

The Dutch had their settlement of Vengurla. It was supplying provisions for the anchoring ships. All the ships that came from Batavia, Japan, Bengal and Ceylon and those bound for Surat or Muscat and Red Sea both coming and going anchored at Vengurla for both water and rice.[27] Vengurla was also reputed for good quality spices and cardamoms it produced. It was also famous for its coarse cloth and hemp matting that served for packing goods.[28]

The commodity composition of the Konkan for its overseas and coastal trade was cotton goods, Bombay stuff, Muslin, silk-stuff and embroidered quilts. Besides there were available for trade Indigo, Pepper and other spices, saltpeter, food-grains and above all timber and precious stones.

The ships laden with above-mentioned commodities in the Konkan ports were going to the Red Sea, Persian Gulf and the Indo-China. Ships going to the Persian Gulf and even to the spice Islands used to touch Rajapur,[29] ships being laden at Surat for England in case of insufficient cargo used to go to the Konkan ports to fetch export commodities.[30] Della Valle tells us about the arrival of ships[31] at Chaul from Muscat and Bassara on his way back to Europe. He even took freight on a ship, which was going from Chaul to Bassara. Linshotten who came to India towards the close of 16th century, noticed Chaul ships going to the Red Sea or the straits of Macau port.[32] Dabhol junks were trading in the Red Sea as early as 1619 when they were attacked by the Dutch.[33] After 1635 A.D. the East India Company ships started visiting Dabhol, Rajapur and Jaitapur. They were obtaining Saltpeter and Pepper from these ports. Inspite of disruption caused by the Maratha wars during the 1670's, the English factors could procure pepper from Rajapur.[34] After unloading salt at Dabhol and picking-up other ships ('Revenge', Hunter, Falcon) and vessels plying in the region, they were also exploring the possibility of trade in upper Chaul for silk called Truggage by the local people.[35] The English were sending ships laden with Indian goods directly from Rajapur to England. Ships from Rajapur were also trading in Achin and the west coast of Sumatra.[36] Due to the uncertainties of the market conditions trade was not always smooth. In such conditions the English tried to use the Konkan coast as best to their advantage as it was possible. Quite often they would order their ships departing for Europe to touch at the Konkan ports and acquire what additional commodities they could get at reasonable rates. The same policy was followed for ships voyaging towards the Red Sea and the Pesian Gulf regions.[37] Other common practice was

to offer freight services on English ships, to the merchants of the Konkan who were interested in carrying their goods to Persia and other places.[38]

The practice of enforcing the 'Cartaz system' by the Portuguese was followed by the Dutch and the English too. The Dutch vessels were giving Cartazes to the Konkan junks going to the Red Sea and they enforced this with great severity.[39] When the Mughal Emporors Abkbar and Jahangir were forced to take 'Cartazes' issued by the Portuguese, the merchants of the Konkan must have accepted the system as it prevailed. Shivaji gave active encouragement to merchants both Indian and European to develop trade in Konkan. Two names are specially mentioned, Niraji Pandit and Moro Pandit who acted as Shivaji's agents in his negotiations with the English factors.[40]

Merchants in Konkan like elsewhere were drawn from different religious and ethnic groups. There were a few rich merchants like Valgi Chauriji[41] and Bhaji Shivpat.[42] Some of the smaller merchants like Naryan Shenvi[43] also acted as broker to the English Company. Among brokers, we come across the names of Bennides,[44] Bemuldas,[45] Ramchandra,[46] Hari Mehta,[47] Vaghiji[48] etc. It is not clear, whether all of them were Konkanis or outsiders.

In the contemporary Marathi records as well as in the factory records of East India company, there are references to Rajapur, Dabhol, as flourishing trade centers under the dominination of Shivaji.[49] In his travel account Caerei says, "all the coast from Chaul to Goa, for the space of 250 miles towns"[50] trade centers in Maharashtra of Shivaji's time appear to have flourished more in Konkan territories. Some of them like Chaul, Dabhol, Chiplun, Vengurla were located at the points of communication like sea or river. A few of these trade centres namely, Kalyan, Bhivandi, Chaul, Rajapur, Dabhol, Vengurla, Pen could be regarded as flourished trading and manufacturing centers. Dabhol and Cheul which were regarded as trade centers next in importance only to Surat and Goa,[51] were port towns with inland and foreign trade. Throughout the 17th century Kalyan, Bhivandi and Panvel had flourishing industries of the crafts of weaving. They were the centers of manufacturing cloth like Bleached cotton, Sele and Turbans. The cloth manufactured at these centers was exported to Bombay.[52] Cheul was the place of trade and manufacturing centre as well. Shivaji possessed this town about 1670. It was famed for its silk fabrics and coloured clothes.[53] The weavers in the town made five thousand pieces of tafatcies in a year.[54]

It seems that the raw-silk required for silk weaving industry at the centre was imported from Bombay and Fattenagar.[55] We get references of Cheul as industry centre in the accounts of foreign travelers. According to Dr. Fryer, the town was a great port of all sorts of Deccan commodities in former times, but was ruined in the wars between the Mughals and Shivaji.[56] Thevenot says, "The port of Cheul was difficult to enter but very safe and secure from all foul whether. It was good town and defended by a strong citadel upon the top of a hill."[57] Thomas Nicollas who visited Cheul in 1673 describes that the city had been furnished with fair buildings, but two third parts of it were ruined, as a result, the town also declined in its population considerably.[58] Cosmeda Guarda gives a fairly good idea of this urban town in the 17th century. To him, Upper Cheul was a great place inhabited by Mooras and Gentios, all rich merchants and there were many weavers with most curious merchandise. All worked hard and its great commerce made the land very prosperous.[59] The town served as a commercial centre not only of Maharashtra but also of India. It was a collecting centre for cotton textile goods from different parts of country.

The variety of cloth coming from Balaghat, Kalyan, Bhivandi and coloured clothes coming from outside India and going to Balaghat, Kalyan, Bhivandi were collected at Cheul.[60] Saltpetre, pepper were procured here at reasonable rates.[61] It had flourishing trade with other ports like Rajapur, Surat and Bombay. It was a town where a rich and a large number of Gujarathi merchants and wealthy traders were living. Hence, in 1666, Shivaji had written to the Captain of Cheul to collect two lacks of rupees from the Gujarati merchants of that town and send that amount to him as loan.[62] Cheul had a mint were Cheul laris were struck.[63] It is but natural that the coins issued from this mint helped in developing the trade of the town. Thus, throughout the 17th century, Kalyan, Bhivandi and Cheul were the towns with industries and crafts and also centers of production of manufactured articles. Hence no doubt grew in size and population.

Dabhol became part of Swarajya in the year 1662. It was an important centre of trade of pepper and salt during the 17th century.[64] In fact, it had become an important traffic centre for foreign trade as numerous ships loaded with goods sailed from this port to Iran, Muscat and such other foreign countries.[65] A mint was also located in the town and the coins issued from the mint were known as Dhabol laris.[66]

During the 17th century, Rajapur was another flourishing commercial centre of Konkan region. The French East India Company

had established its factory at this place.[67] Rajapur came under the possession of Shivaji in 1664. As it is mentioned in the records of the English East India Company, Rajapur was an important commercial centre as Karwar was in those days and here the goods were sold at cheaper rate by 20% than those of Surat.[68] Shivaji had sacked the English Factory at Rajapur in 1660 and also in 1670.[69] It served as a centre for foreign imported goods as well as for indigenous export commodities. Its vessels loaded with goods were sent to Bombay, Surat, Mecca, Iran and Muscat.[70] The traffic in goods between Bombay and Rajapur was regular and consisted of commodities like Pepper, Coconuts, Betel nuts and clothes.[71] In 1660, Henry Revingtron had thought that Rajapur in future would be a centre of large trade in Saltpetre, Pepper, Calicoes, Cotton yarn etc.[72]

Some rich merchants living in the town possessed their own ships which sailed to Red Sea, Basra in Persia.[73] Vengurla was other important town and a centre of trade during the 17th century. It had the Dutch factory for cloth both fine and coarse.[74] In 1660, It was a large town with one of the best roads in India. Vengurla served as a commercial centre of coastal trade not only of Maharashtra but for other parts of India. It was visited by many ships from Barsorlar as well as from the ports of Karnataka for taking in cargoes of Rice and Saltpetre.[75] The ships laden with salt from this place were taken to Maneri.[76] The ships from Batavin, Japan, Bengal, Ceylon visited this port and its vessels loaded with goods were sent to Surat, Ormuz, Basra and the Red Sea.[77] The trade of Shivaji with the Arab countries was conducted through this port. The Marathas brought the merchandise from Karnataka at this centre and loaded it on their ships bound for Muscat.[78] A mint which issued Nishani hons was also located in the town.[79] The political factor unlike the geographical and economic factors also contributed to the growth of this town. Dicholi was big town of the Maratha ruler, Sambhaji. It was a place where the English, the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese merchant communities had established their houses.[80] During the Mughal attacks, Dicholi declined in population and many immigrants from this city settled at Vengurla. Thus, the immigration into the town contributed to the growth and size and population of Vengurla. Kelasi, Nagothana and Pen were the other port town in coastal region of Maharashtra which served as places for trade of European commodities. Kelesi was a good place of trading activities for European trade articles like Copper and Tin.[81] Nagothana and Pen had great importance as the places of trade from where Bombay had

the greatest supplies of all sorts of commodities.[82] Many goods of Shivaji's territories were to be exported from the port of Pen to Bombay.[83] Mahad seems to be a rising emporium of Maharashtra during the 17th century. The importance of Mahad as a commercial centre increased because of its nearness to Raigad, the capital fort of Shivaji.[84] It functioned as an exchange depot between the Desh and Konkan region. It acted as commercial centre of export of rice and salt from Konkan to Desh and a place of import of food-grains from Desh to Konkan.[85]

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His prized publication entitled "Archives in Maharashtra (Description & Technique of Preservation)" published by the Maharashtra State Board for literature and culture (2nd edition 1988). is popular among History Graduates and Post Graduates history students.

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- ABBRIVATIONS -

FOR MANUSCRIPT RECORDS

H.D.	-	Home Department, Bombay.
P.D.	-	Political Department, Bombay.
Pub. D.	-	Public Department, Bombay.
Sec. & P. D.	-	Secret and Political Department, Bombay.
S.P.R.	-	Selected Papers for future Research, Poona.

FOR PRINTED WORKS

B.I.S.M.	-	Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Quarterly.
Briggs - Ferishta	-	History of the Rise of the Mohomedan Power by Mohomed Kasim Ferishta. Tr. Briggs.
Lekh Sangraha	-	Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha by V. V. Khare.
M.I.S.	-	Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane by V. K. Rajwade.
N.H.M.	-	New History of Marathas by S. G. Sardesai.
Peshwa Roznishi	-	Selections from the Satara Raja's and Peshwa Diaries by C. G. Vad.
P.R.C.	-	Poona Residency Correspondence, Gen. Eds. - Sir Jadunath Sarkar and G. S. Sardesai.
S.P.D.	-	Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Ed. by G. S. Sardesai.

Dr. Vithal Gopal Khobrekar (born 20 July 1923) M.A. Ph.D., a Retired Director of Archive, M.S., is Director & Secretary of Itihas Sanshodhan Mandal (Historical Research Institute) recognised by Govt. of Maharashtra and affiliated to University of Mumbai since 1968. He is also Editor of the research quarterly of the Mandal, "Bharatiya Itihas Aani Sanskriti" since 1968. He is a recognised guide for Ph.D. in History and has many published articles to his credit.

Dr. Khobrekar has about 30 books at his credit notable among them are as follows :

1. Maratha Campaigns & Itinerary of Maratha Military Camps (1707 to 1818 AD)
2. Facsimile Handwriting of Notable Personalities of Maratha History.
3. Tarikha-I-Dilkasha (Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Birth centenary commemoration volume)
4. Records of Shivaji Period (Chhatrapati Shri. Shivaji Maharaj Coronation Tercentenary commemoration volume)
5. Shivaji Memorials : British Attitude (1885 - 1926) Vol. 2
6. History of Maharashtra Vol.2 (1707 to 1818)
7. History of Konkan (Marathi)
8. Socio Economics Conditions of Konkan during Maratha rule.
9. Maratha Institutions & their functions.
10. Edited 1 to 10 vols. of Maharashtra Archives Bulletin.

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